The Outlook

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THE FALL OF LEMBERG AND THE CRISIS ON THE DNIESTER

Since the plunging German advance which stopped just short of Paris there has been no such spectacular movement as the Austro-German offensive through Galicia, which in seven weeks has plowed forward one hundred and fifty miles and as this is written is reported to have won Lemberg, with no indication yet of having spent its force. This steady, glacier-like advance, comparable in our own history to Grant's irresistible sweep through the Wilderness, is the sort of thing that has lent color to many wars of the past, but which has been conspicuously rare in this greatest war. It seems as if the Germans, having recovered from the discouragement of the failure of their traditional plan of crushing France before Russia could come up, are now trying the reverse of this plan, and are bent upon putting the Muscovites definitely *hors de combat* before turning to deal in full strength with the enemies of the Fatherland in the west and south.

The capture of Lemberg was made easy by the accomplishment of a turning movement worthy of Napoleon, the master of such tactics, which left the circle of Russia's enemies about Lemberg broken only in the east. The Russians in Lemberg were cut off from communication to the north by the capture of Rawa Ruska, on the single railway running north from the Galician capital, while two railways running out of the city to the south were closed by another Austro-German force. With only the line to the east open, the Lemberg garrison faced the alternative of retreat or acceptance of a siege.

Apologists for the Russian reverses explain that it is the plan of the Grand Duke Nicholas to withdraw in good order before his foes, preserving his munitions, and especially his artillery, rather than to risk a large-scale battle in which his whole command might be dispersed and Russia put out of the fighting for months if not for the rest of the war. Certainly it is preferable to retreat rather than to fall into the Kaiser's plan and be crushed, but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that this widespread backward movement of the Russian armies is likely to have political results inimical to the interests of the Allies out of all proportion to the purely military disadvantages incurred. The Russians have already been forced to fall to the south of their strong positions on the Dniester. The loss of Lemberg, which has been an important base of supplies for their left wing, will force the further retreat of this part of their line. If the possession of Bessarabia were clinched, the Teutons could offer this province to Rumania as the price of her neutrality, and it is not at all certain that the Balkan state would decline this bribe, for she has been long waiting an opportunity to recover this territory, which Russia, with foresight as bad as her morals, took from Rumania in 1878 under the Treaty of Berlin. On the Dniester to-day the fortunes of the Allies are facing a crisis greater than any since the dispersion of the peril which threatened on the Marne in September.

IN THE SOUTH AND WEST

The victory of the Italians at Plava, on the east bank of the Isonzo, strengthens Italy's position. Italy has now been fighting a month, and the fortunes of war have been all her way. But there is no time to stop for self-congratulations, and, to their credit be it said, the commanders of her armies have shown no disposition to indulge in such folly, but evidently fully realize the importance of making sure of the Trentino and Trieste before Austria, finished with the Galician campaign, turns toward the Alps.

Although being among the most violently contested actions of the war, the battles at Souchez, north of Arras, in the famous network of trenches between Souchez and Arras called the "Labyrinth," and in the Vosges, in all of which the French were victorious, are not of great bearing on the general situation. The western front still seems unlikely to produce a "decisive battle" for some time to

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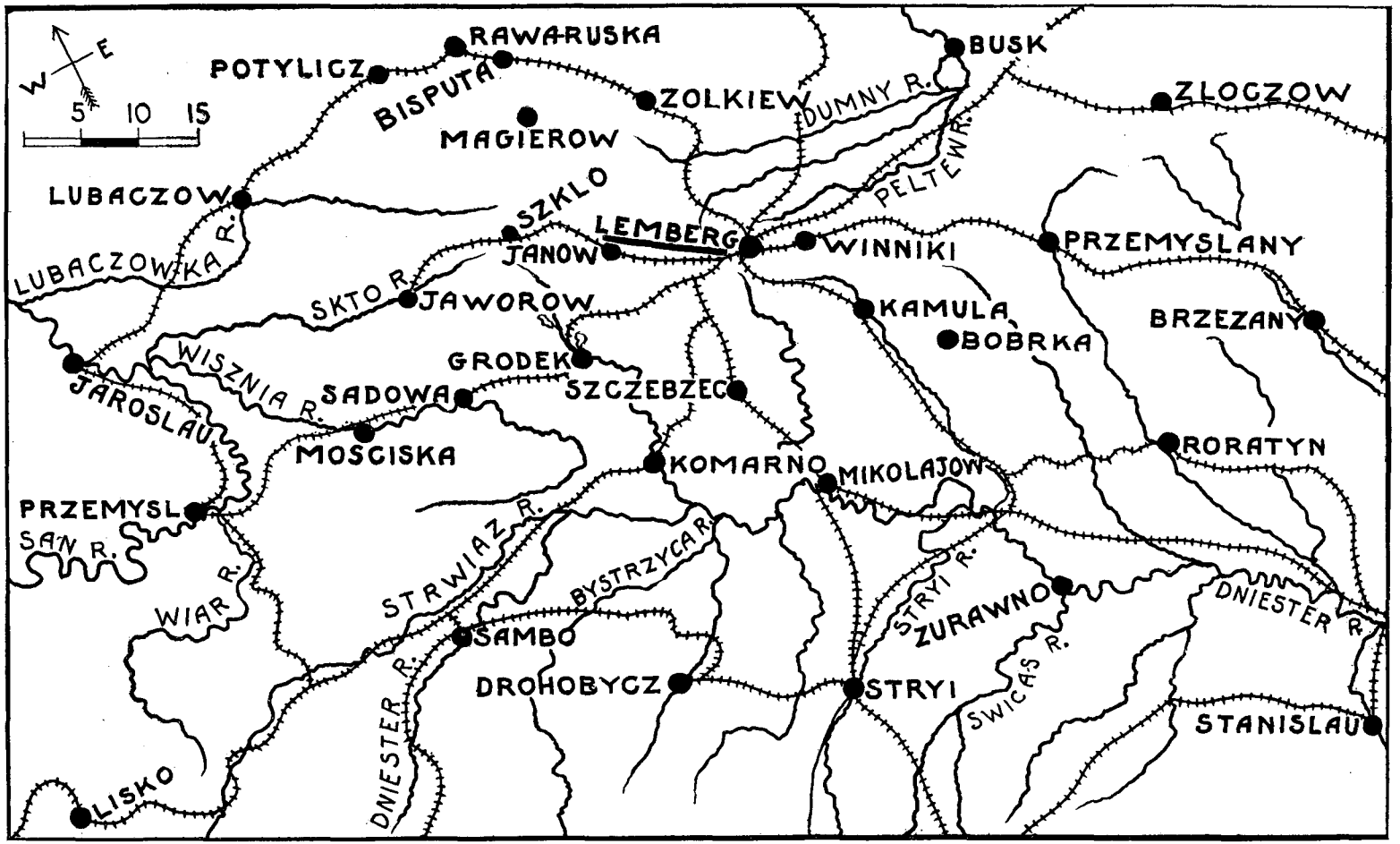

THE SCENE OF THE LATEST AUSTRO-GERMAN VICTORIES

The capture of Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, which has been held by the Russians since September 2, 1914, is the crowning feat of the great Austro-German drive which in seven weeks has carried one hundred and fifty miles, one of the most remarkable movements in the war thus far. From Lemberg the Russians fell back in a northeasterly direction toward their own frontier. From Lemberg south their lines are now at all points north of the Dniester River.

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come. But the continual friction on the German lines may wear them out in the end. And the tempers of the French and British people indicate that this harassing of Germany is to be increased.

The enthusiasm with which the British people greeted the authorization of the tremendous new war loan is an encouraging sign that England is waking up. The House of Commons has virtually given Reginald McKenna, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, a blank check for five billion dollars. Financially, as in every other way, this is a Gargantuan war.

THE LUSITANIA AND THE NEBRASKAN

Strong evidence to the effect that the damage done to the American steamer Nebraskan by an external explosion off Fastnet Rock, on May 25, was caused by a torpedo was submitted to the State Department by Ambassador Page. Our Ambassador to Great Britain reported that the separate investigations conducted by the American Consul-General at Liverpool and by Lieutenant John H. Towers, our Naval Attaché at London, both indicated that the Nebraskan had been torpedoed. Lieutenant Towers made a technical examination of the American vessel in dry-dock at Liverpool, and with his report he submitted a number of photographs of the damaged hull of the ship and several fragments of metal which may have been pieces of a torpedo. Before our Government takes its final stand in the Nebraskan case, however, it wishes to be sure of its position beyond any reasonable doubt. Accordingly, metallurgical experts of the Navy Department have been ordered to make a careful scientific examination and analysis of the metal fragments, and render an opinion as to whether they are pieces of a mine or of a torpedo.

The public inquiry into the sinking of the Lusitania, like many inquiries of the kind, served to stamp with authority many reports of facts that had already been published rather than to bring to light any new evidence of great importance. The Court of Inquiry, presided over by Lord Mersey, brought out the fact that the big Cunarder had been running on a straight course at a speed of only eighteen knots, whereas it was the testimony of several experts that had the vessel been following a zigzag course through the dangerous waters at top speed it would have been very difficult for a torpedo to strike her. The Cunard Company, it was brought out, gave no wireless instructions to this or any other effect to the Lusitania's captain as he was entering the zone of peril, because the vessel had been placed under Admiralty orders. Witnesses declared that the vessel was running on only nineteen of her twenty-five boilers, for economy's sake, that many of her crew were poorly trained, that several of the ship's boats were leaky, and that there was more coolness and regard for others among the cabin passengers, stewards, and stewardesses than among the crew and steerage.

Aside from the fact that the Lusitania was running at reduced speed when struck, however, the most important development of the inquiry lay in Captain W. T. Turner's assertion under oath that there was not a single gun aboard the big liner. The public hearings of the Court of Inquiry were followed by a secret session, the findings of which have not been made public.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND BRITISH LABOR

The drastic Munitions Bill drawn up by Mr. David Lloyd George, the British Minister of Munitions, will be a powerful weapon for England's ultimate advantage. Local munitions committees, it is reported, will be established by the bill in every manufacturing town, to be composed of equal numbers of operators and trades-unionists, under chairmen to be appointed by Mr. Lloyd George. These committees will have absolute disciplinary power over recalcitrant workmen. Strikes and lockouts will be illegal from the moment the bill goes into effect, all trades union rules likely to hamper production are to be set aside, the profits of the factory operators are to be limited, and, in short, the state is to assume full control of all munition plants.

These munitions committees will in practice be labor courts with authority to exercise the power of compulsory arbitration, a principle which The Outlook has long urged ought to be adopted in the treatment of conflicts between capital and labor in America. But, fortunately, there seems little likelihood that British labor will dispute the summary authority which the Government has taken to itself in the present crisis. The diplomacy of Mr. Lloyd George seems to have worked wonders in melting the stubbornness that British labor has shown

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since the outbreak of the war. To prove how dire is England's need of munitions Mr. Lloyd George recently sent a party of British workmen over a tour of the trenches in France and Belgium.

"We came away convinced," said the leader of the party, "that the man at the front is at the mercy of the men at home, and we intend that the workmen shall know it."

MR. BRYAN AND ORGANIZED LABOR

The efforts of Mr. Bryan to enlist the support of organized labor in his campaign against preparedness against war and for peace at any price have not been seconded by Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. In a letter declining the invitation to speak at a Bryan peace meeting in New York City, Mr. Gompers declared that, while "I have always stood for peace and have an abhorrence of war, with all the brutality which it entailed, . . . I have no hesitation in saying to you that, in my judgment, there are some things that are even more abhorrent than war—that is, to be robbed of the birthright of freedom, justice, safety, and character. Against any attempt of any person or group of persons or nation or nations who may be engaged in an effort to undermine or destroy these fundamentals of normal human existence and development I would not only fight to defeat it, but would prevail upon every red-blooded liberty and humanity loving man to resist to the last degree."

Mr. Gompers went on to say that, speaking as "an officer of the American Federation of Labor and as a man," while he and all men and women in the labor movement desired peace, and while he believed that the United States would not enter the war, nevertheless "if, despite our reserve and self-control, we shall be dragged into it, whether we like it or not, there will be but one position for us to take, and that is to be true to ourselves, true to our fellows, true to the highest ideal of humanity for which our movement stands."

On the other hand, the active participation and sympathy of many union labor men at the Bryan meeting which Mr. Gompers declined to attend is evidence to disprove Mr. Gompers's claim of unanimity in the ranks of labor. There were many union men in Carnegie Hall on that occasion, and among the speakers who seconded the retired Cabinet officer's advocacy of peace on any terms were Congressman Buchanan, of Illinois, a former ironworker, and Joseph Cannon, a prominent member of the Western Federation of Labor, while Ernest Bohm, of the Central Federated Union, and Joseph P. Holland, of the International Brotherhood of Firemen, were members of the Bryan retinue.

Moreover, a few days after the Carnegie Hall gathering many labor men attended a meeting under Socialist auspices at Cooper Union, in New York City, which was significant as the first occasion on which a prominent pacifist has accepted the designation of actually being for peace under any circumstances. Mr. Morris Hillquit, one of the most prominent Socialists in America, made the following extraordinary statement:

"We are charged with being for peace at any price, and many people resent that imputation, but it is true of me and it is true of Socialists in general. We are for peace at any price. That might as well be understood."

In the face of these conflicting facts, what shall we say? That labor is divided in its allegiance? That seems to be the truth of the matter. But the division is not equal; the extreme pacifist faction in the labor movement is small.

THE VIEWS OF OTHER LABOR LEADERS

Few men are better qualified to interpret the position of the American workingman than Mr. John Mitchell, at present the Chairman of the Industrial Commission of New York, but for many years President of the United Mine Workers of America and Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

"The laboring men of America as a whole are not for peace at any price," declared Mr. Mitchell in a statement to a member of the staff of The Outlook. "They do believe that we should employ every conciliatory measure compatible with our honor and dignity before ever going to war. Recently nine international unions, with a combined membership of about nine hundred thousand, were represented at a meeting in Indianapolis which adopted resolutions expressing the opposition of the unions to war in general, and urging the Government to do everything it could honorably do to keep us out of the present war. But I do not think that those nine hundred

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thousand men are Tolstoyans. They feel that there is entirely too much war talk current in this country just now, and they want to discourage it; but if war comes they will fight a lot quicker than most of the persons who are urging belligerency upon us. There is absolutely no danger that if this country were attacked the laboring men would sulk. They would be the first ones to fight."

Much the same opinion was voiced by several other labor men consulted by The Outlook's representative. The labor men with Mr. Bryan are a small and unimportant faction in the movement, was the unanimous opinion of these gentlemen.

"Most of the Bryan followers are Socialists or Germans," said Mr. Timothy Healy, President of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, and one of the workingmen's representatives on the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. "They do not constitute an important part of labor, the bulk of which stands with Mr. Gompers in this matter."

There are all sorts of cross-currents in this whirlpool which Mr. Bryan has set in motion. Many of the labor element which is following him in his peace propaganda are of German birth or extraction, and feel that the advocacy of Bryanism is an aid to their Fatherland in its life-and-death struggle.

Then there are Irish-Americans like Mr. Healy, whose bitter antagonism to England makes them espousers of Germany's cause against the Allies, but who are such good Americans first of all that they "do not want to see this country entangled in a lot of utopian peace treaties which will hamper her when the National honor and the flag are insulted or attacked."

At bottom there are no truer Americans than the men in the organized labor movement, and, says Mr. Healy, "if war comes, even the most extreme pacifists and Socialists among them will fight for their country just as the German and French Socialists are now fighting."

THE CASE OF ALFRED MEYER AND THE KRAG RIFLES

On June 16 the New York "Tribune" made an astonishing statement, a statement which, despite the authoritative manner in which it was made, evoked the skepticism of careful readers and the fear that, whether or not it should prove justified, its publication would increase the difficulties of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion to the negotiations between the United States and Germany.

The "Tribune" announced that Dr. Anton Meyer-Gerhard, the German Red Cross lecturer and the special envoy sent by Count von Bernstorff to the Imperial Government at Berlin, had perpetrated a gigantic hoax upon the State Department of the United States. It declared that Dr. Meyer-Gerhard was no other than Dr. Alfred Meyer, Chief of the Department of Army Supplies of the Imperial German Ministry of War. It declared that his Red Cross propaganda was a farce, and that he had come to this country to purchase war supplies and to learn the condition of military preparedness in this country. The "Tribune" further declared that he had now returned to Berlin through the courtesy and with the safe-conduct of our Government, carrying with him valuable contracts and important military secrets. This grave charge immediately called forth an emphatic denial from the German Embassy. It was received with interest but without credence in Washington. After a day or so the "Tribune" became less emphatic as to the truth of its statement, and presently this extraordinary story faded from the news columns of the "Tribune" with a straightforward account of Dr. Meyer-Gerhard's return to Berlin and the effect of his conferences with the German Foreign Office.

The "Tribune's" story was apparently based solely upon the testimony of a certain Mrs. Selma Lewis, an agent who has been active for some time in attempts to purchase from the United States the thousands of Krag-Jorgensen rifles stored in the Government arsenals. Such a sale could not have been effected, of course, without the grossest breach of neutrality by the Government, and the rankest breach of trust by the officials responsible for the proper disposal of the discarded arms. Apparently the evidence given by Mrs. Lewis to the "Tribune" concerning her financial relation with "Dr. Meyer" and his identity with Dr. Meyer-Gerhard was in good faith, a fact, however, which in no way absolves the "Tribune" from the unenviable responsibility of publishing a story likely seriously to embarrass the Government at this critical time. Considering the slender evidence the "Tribune" brought forward as to the au-

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thenticity of its story, its action can scarcely be too severely criticised.

THE "SUN'S" SOLUTION

It appears now that this extraordinary and bewildering episode has been definitely explained, for the New York "Sun" has brought forward a convincing solution. The "Sun" has discovered a man, name still unknown, who has testified that he himself is the mysterious Dr. Meyer who is responsible for the charge that Dr. Meyer-Gerhard was guilty of betraying the trust of the American Government.

This man, an American citizen, according to the "Sun," states that he posed as his Excellency Dr. Meyer while in search of evidence, which he had reason to believe existed, that certain United States officials were ready to accept graft for the use of their influence to get the release of the 355,000 Krag rifles. The "Sun" states that it is able to produce this witness if legal necessity or the Federal authorities demand his appearance. According to his story, he entered into negotiations with Mrs. Lewis for the purchase of the Krag rifles for the German Government. When the so-called Dr. Meyer attempted to pin down the generous Mrs. Lewis (generous in her willingness to dispose of property which she had no prospect of possessing) to the specific means by which the rifles could be secured, she failed to prove her ability to fulfill her end of the bargain. She could not get in touch with the officials whom she declared could be "reached," and the sale naturally fell through. Thereupon "Dr. Meyer," abandoning his search of incriminating evidence, resumed his true character. Mrs. Lewis then proceeded to declare that the "German agent" with whom she had been negotiating was no other than the Red Cross lecturer and the emissary of Count von Bernstorff. "Dr. Meyer" stated to the "Sun" that he never told Mrs. Lewis that he was Dr. Meyer-Gerhard, and that he had never approached the German Embassy in any way.

The "Sun" has performed a useful service in ferreting out the truth concerning the "Tribune's" story, a story which belonged more properly in the pages of a yellow journal than in the columns of so careful a paper as the "Tribune."

THE YAQUI INDIAN MENACE

The Mexican situation has been again brought home to the United States by the action of the Yaqui Indians and the despatch of an expedition under Admiral Howard to the Bay of Tobari for the protection of American citizens. Admiral Howard has under his command the first-class cruiser Colorado and the third-class cruiser Cleveland. He is empowered to act should occasion arise without further consultation with Washington.

It is a difficult situation at best which awaits the judgment and solution of Admiral Howard. The Yaqui Indians have risen in revolt against the Villista forces under Governor Maytorena, of Sonora, and have driven the inhabitants of the Yaqui Valley into the towns for protection. In Esperanza, ninety miles southeast of Guaymas, there was originally a settlement of some three hundred Americans, of whom but seventy-five have dared to remain. One American ranch in this region is reported surrounded by an Indian force of eight hundred men. For protection of the imperiled foreigners Governor Maytorena has despatched a force of soldiers. The advance guard of these troops has been attacked, it is reported, and some forty lost in killed and wounded.

The difficulty in protecting these American citizens who are in danger is increased by the impossibility of convincing the populace in the threatened region as to the true purpose of a relief expedition. The Mexican General Leyva, military commander at Guaymas, in consultation with Admiral Howard and the commanders of the Colorado and the Cleveland, has stated that, while he himself could understand the purpose of such an expedition, he could not answer for the action of the people. He promised the same protection for the foreign colony as that which could be afforded to the native Mexicans, and said that in case of imminent danger an adequate guard would escort them to a place of safety. He is reported as discounting any possibility of a conference with the Yaqui chiefs. They have never permitted foreign emissaries in their presence, he declared, and have "all the treachery and bloodthirstiness of the Apaches." Doubtless the Yaquis might have something to say in regard to the action of those Mexican authorities who ordered the transportation of the conquered Indian tribesmen to Yucatan after the insurrection of 1905.

If the American citizens can be guaranteed only such protection as has been recently given the citizens of Mexico, it will be cold comfort

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indeed. The President has been well advised in the despatch of a naval force to Guaymas and in the placing the responsibility for action upon the naval commander at the seat of trouble. American naval commanders have a well-deserved reputation for good judgment coupled with effective action in such trying situations. The officers of a navy which has behind it such traditions as the action of the late Admiral Evans when he commanded the Yorktown at Valparaiso in 1891, and the correct and effective attitude of Admiral Dewey towards the German squadron after the Battle of Manila Bay, can well be trusted to handle whatever situation may arise in the Yaqui Valley with justice to all the interests concerned.

AMERICANIZATION DAY

Some people assume that the proposal to have an "Americanization Day" on July 4 means that the old-fashioned celebration is to be no more. We do not so understand it.

In connection with the usual Fourth of July celebration it is proposed to repeat in many cities in 1915 an idea which was carried out in Cleveland in 1914. Through the clerks of naturalization, the names and addresses of aliens admitted to citizenship during the preceding year were secured and invitations to a reception were sent to each. At the reception each new citizen, on entering the auditorium and showing his ticket, received a small American flag and also a seal of the city with the word "Citizen" upon it. The platform, decorated with the flags of the nations, was reserved for these new citizens. The audience itself was secured by general publicity through the newspapers. The programme opened with National airs. This was followed by the unfurling of a large American flag, during which ceremony the "Star-Spangled Banner" was sung, and after it the "Pledge of Allegiance" was recited in unison. Then followed speeches by officials representing the Nation, State, and city, and by one of the foreign-born citizens.

The civic value of such a reception was evident. Accordingly this year Dr. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, formerly a citizen of Cleveland, and influential in civic development there, wrote to the mayors of many cities calling their attention to what had taken place and suggesting that the idea be made National in its scope. Favorable replies were received from Boston, Fall River, Providence, Pawtucket, Jersey City, Elizabeth, Trenton, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Des Moines, and other cities.

It is also interesting to note that employers of emigrant labor have shown a co-operative spirit—such employers, for instance, as the General Electric Company, the New York Edison Company, the Central Hudson Gas and Electric Company, the Eagle and Phœnix Mills, the Shredded Wheat Company, and the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company.

The idea has also been taken up vigorously by the "Immigrants in America Review," of which Miss Frances Kellor is editor.

When we remember that there are seven million men in this country old enough to vote who were born in other lands (a quarter of our male population old enough to vote!), and that less than half of them are naturalized—that is to say, they are in this country yet not of it—some such idea as was adopted in Cleveland should be carried out to make the acquisition of American citizenship a real dignity and to show to those who are not citizens what America means to those who are.

THE LAUNCHING OF THE ARIZONA

Another American dreadnought entered the water on June 19, when the Arizona slid off the ways at the Brooklyn Navy-Yard. She was christened by Miss Esther Ross, of Preston, Arizona, and, as has happened frequently in recent years, the christening fluid used was again the occasion of no little dispute. A compromise was reached, however, for two bottles, one containing champagne, and another containing water from the lake impounded behind the Roosevelt Dam in the battle-ship's name State, were placed in the hands of the sponsor for the purpose of the ceremony. Apparently, however, the Arizona is not a believer in prohibition, for when the two bottles crashed against her bow only the bottle of champagne broke, and was therefore alone considered as having any effective share in the proceedings. It has always been a difficult thing to understand the opposition of extreme temperance advocates towards the christening of battle-ships with champagne. To an impartial observer

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it seems that such an event ought to be regarded as another blow to the consumption of liquor. Certainly a bottle smashed on the bow of a battle-ship is one bottle that can never be drunk.

It is interesting to compare the great Arizona with the latest type of English battle-ship, such as the Queen Elizabeth. This formidable war machine, it must be remembered, is already in active service, while the American battle-ship is not yet completed. The Queen Elizabeth carries a main battery of eight 15-inch guns. The Arizona will be armed with twelve 14-inch guns. The secondary battery of the British ship contains sixteen 6-inch guns, while the Arizona carries twenty-two 5-inch guns. The weight of metal that can be sent from a broadside of the Arizona is therefore greater than that which can be fired by the Queen Elizabeth. Offsetting this, the Queen Elizabeth is four knots faster than the estimated speed of our new Arizona. Should these two battle-ships, therefore, be in conflict, this advantage in speed would enable the Queen Elizabeth to choose her own distance and time of battle. Furthermore, the English battle-ship has a greater radius of action than her American sister, for she carries 3,500 tons of fuel as against 2,322 tons of oil on the American ship. The horse-power of the Queen Elizabeth is 58,000, that of the Arizona 34,000. The Arizona has a displacement of some 31,000 tons, while the English vessel displaces some 4,000 tons less.

The wisdom of the English naval constructors in placing great emphasis upon speed has been more than justified by the events which have already taken place.

THE OKLAHOMA GRANDFATHER CLAUSE ANNULLED

Among the most notable decisions of the Supreme Court in recent years is to be included that which was rendered last week on the Oklahoma "Grandfather Clause." Chief Justice White read the opinion. Since this decision annuls a law that disfranchised a great many Negroes, and therefore admits these Negroes to the suffrage, it is significant that the opinion was written and read by a former Confederate soldier. The State of Oklahoma passed a law requiring every elector before he was registered to prove that he could read and write any section of the Constitution of the State; but it excepted from the requirements of this provision any person "who was on January 1, 1866, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under any form of government, or who at any time resided in some foreign nation," and every "lineal descendant of such person."

Of course, under this section Negroes could vote if they could read and write, but while illiterate white people, even though they were foreigners, could vote, illiterate Negroes could not vote because they did not come under the exception, since American Negroes were not entitled to vote before 1866. The date of 1866 was evidently chosen because it was then that the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution became operative, prohibiting exclusion from the suffrage of any person on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The Supreme Court has declared that this so-called Grandfather Clause, excepting certain persons exclusively white from the operation of the literacy test, is a subterfuge. The Court does not say that the literacy test excluding illiterates from the suffrage is unconstitutional, but it declares that granting the privilege of the suffrage to people who could vote or whose ancestors could vote before 1866 is not valid because otherwise the Fifteenth Amendment would be rendered "inapplicable by mere forms of expression embodying no exercise of judgment and resting upon no discernible reason other than to disregard the prohibitions of the amendment."

Under ordinary circumstances the wiping out of such an exception would not wipe out the provision to which that exception was attached; but as the plain meaning of the Oklahoma law was that lineal descendants of those who could vote in 1866 should not be disfranchised, and as such descendants would be disfranchised if the Grandfather Clause were wiped out without affecting the rest of the law, the whole provision for a literacy qualification was stricken out by the Court. So, if Oklahoma wants a literacy provision, it will have to enact a new law without such a Grandfather Clause.

WHAT THIS DECISION SIGNIFIES

A good deal of confusion prevails regarding the so-called Grandfather Clause. It has been adopted by a number of Southern States. It is often referred to as a means of disqualifying Negroes from the suffrage. This is an error. The Grandfather Clause does not disfranchise anybody. On the con-

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trary, it admits to the suffrage people who would otherwise be disfranchised. A brief historical review is necessary for an understanding of this clause.

Conditions in the Southern States a number of years ago had become intolerable. Where great masses of illiterate and thriftless Negroes lived the white people had taken measures to prevent them from controlling the government of the State and the locality. These measures were frequently lawless and sometimes violent. The better citizens of those States at last resolved that some measures must be taken to purge the suffrage of the illiterate and thriftless without intimidation, fraud, and the like, so laws were adopted setting standards for the suffrage. In some places the standards set were the payment of taxes, indicating thrift; in other places requirements for reading and writing were adopted, as tests of intelligence, or at least sufficient intelligence to involve a desire for some education.

The adoption of these standards, however, would have disfranchised a great many white voters—in some cases so many as to excite opposition on the part of the voters and imperil, if not prevent, the adoption of the standard altogether. So provisions were devised to avoid this opposition by making it unnecessary for these white illiterate voters to disfranchise themselves by adopting the new standards. Perhaps the most common of these methods devised was this so-called Grandfather Clause, permitting the men whose ancestors had voted before the Civil War to vote now, even though they were illiterate. That this was the purpose of the Grandfather Clause is made perfectly clear by the fact that in almost all cases this clause expired by its own limitation, so that in the course of a few years there would be no exceptions to the rule requiring newly registered voters to meet the standards of literacy or property. In one or two instances this Grandfather Clause was permanent. In those cases it was evident that a race discrimination was permanently contemplated, and in those cases the Clause was vicious. Such appears to be the case with the Oklahoma provision. It is this Clause in its permanent form that has been annulled by the Supreme Court.

It is not clear to us that this Supreme Court decision will have a practical effect upon those laws where this Grandfather Clause has already expired, for in such cases the voters who have gained the privilege by virtue of that Grandfather Clause will gradually die off, and as regards all new voters, there is no discrimination whatever except the legitimate discrimination against the thriftless and unintelligent.

THE FULL CREW LAW IN PENNSYLVANIA

It has not been difficult to convince the great body of public opinion that the full crew laws which have been passed in several States have been vicious in principle and inadequate for the purpose for which their creation was advocated. These laws, which made mandatory upon the railways the employment of a certain number of men for the manning of freight and passenger trains, were put forward as measures for the public safety. They ignored the well-established principle that regulation of such details of railway management belong properly with an executive commission rather than in a legislative body. They have operated to the advantage of the trainmen's union and to the disadvantage of the railways, and therefore indirectly to the disadvantage of the shipping public. Nor has there been any appreciable increase in the factor of safety which could not have been produced by better means. So evident have these facts become that the railways have had public support in their campaigns to have these laws repealed wherever they have been passed. In Missouri, for instance, it was done by popular referendum, a result which could not have been produced by the old-style railway lobby, but which was readily secured by the new-style policy of education and publicity.

The Pennsylvania Legislature has been the latest of lawmaking bodies to see the light, and at the recent session it repealed the Full Crew Law in a bill which placed the responsibility for adequate human equipment upon the railways and upon the Public Service Commission. This transfer of the responsibility from statute law to the judgment of the Public Service Commission has now been vetoed by Governor Brumbaugh. In his statement giving the reasons for this veto Governor Brumbaugh complains that "an extensive and systematic campaign was inaugurated to secure the passage" of the repealing measure. Certainly if such was the case the railways were entirely within their rights. There is nothing in law or morals which maintains that a corporation is without

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the right to appeal to public opinion for its justification. In a democracy it is secrecy, and not publicity, which endangers the justice of legislative procedure. Governor Brumbaugh further says: "If they [the railways] can demonstrate in the next two years that a law now in operation is not fair to them and to the employees, it will be the duty of all officials to deal justly by them." The Full Crew Law is in principle a self-evident injustice. Public opinion, we are convinced, is satisfied of that without another two years' trial.

THE DISMISSAL OF PROFESSOR NEARING

Much indignation, coupled with a strong protest, has been raised by the virtual dismissal of Dr. Scott Nearing from the staff of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. Strictly speaking, we believe, Dr. Nearing is not dismissed. He is simply not re-engaged. This, however, is merely technically true. In most such cases reappointment of professors is to be expected. In this case the failure to reappoint Dr. Nearing came at the very close of the year, and therefore afforded doubly a reason for interpreting it as a dismissal.

Dr. Nearing has been prominent in campaigns for reform in labor laws and economic conditions. It is believed by his friends that his activities in this respect have been unwelcome to influential men and therefore have been the cause of his removal from the University. We do not know all the facts, though we have made inquiries. It is said on behalf of those who have removed him that the suggestion that he is a martyr to the cause of intellectual liberty is without foundation; that it is not because of radical views or the free exercise of speech that he has been removed, but because he has made himself the center of angry controversy and to such an extent that his retention would be an injury to the institution with which he has been connected. There seems to be raised no question as to his gifts as a teacher or to his high character or ability.

It is not the business of any newspaper, or of the public, to render a decision as to whether any man is competent as a teacher. That is the business of the proper authorities. That point, it seems to us, is clear. But there is another point equally clear, and that is that the fitness of a professor for his position is not a commercial question, not a question of financial administration, not a question of business, but a question of educational policy. As such, that question ought to be decided, not by the trustees of the property, but by the teaching staff or the representatives of the teaching staff, who are educational experts. To have such a question decided by a board of trustees is to put it into the category of a business question; it is to open any action that may be taken to what at best is misconstruction. The difficulty in the case of the University of Pennsylvania and Professor Nearing is that the action was taken by the Board of Trustees and not by the educational directors of the institution. The University of Pennsylvania is not alone at fault in this. It is a common defect in American universities to have educational questions decided by trustees of the properties. The Nearing case may serve a good purpose if it brings about a discussion of that wider question which transcends the fortune of any individual and concerns the freedom of educational policies from the control of those whose business should be financial and administrative.

COMMENCEMENT NOTES

Among the recent noteworthy events of the Commencement season was the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the College for Women in Western Reserve University, at Cleveland. President Thwing conferred the baccalaureate degree upon a class of sixty-six. One of these, the first to complete a three years' course in the new Department of Household Administration, received the degree of Bachelor of Science. The new Flora Mather House, a large building for students' rooms, was then dedicated and transferred to the College by the Alumnæ Association.

Union University, at Schenectady, commemorated the semi-centennial of the close of the Civil War by conferring degrees on students of Union College who had fought under either banner. The baccalaureate degree was given to thirty-one who left their studies to enlist—in all but five cases *in memoriam* to the deceased. Several others, graduated during or just after the war, received the honorary M.A.

A noble memorial of Yalensians who fell in the Civil War, the gift of alumni in every part of the Union, was formally presented to Yale University by former Governor Baldwin. Erected in Memorial Hall, it contains

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on marble tablets the records of one hundred and thirteen who wore the blue and fifty-five who wore the gray.

On Commencement day at Yale honorary degrees were given to an interesting and diverse group. Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, New York City's Commissioner of Correction, Melville E. Stone, head of the Associated Press, and Edwin Musser Herr, President of the Westinghouse Company, were made Masters of Arts. To Dr. Charles Wardell Stiles, the authority on hookworm, was given the degree of Doctor of Science. Professor George Foot Moore, of Harvard, and William Roscoe Thayer, for years editor of the "Harvard Graduates' Magazine," were made Doctors of Letters. The degree of Doctor of Laws was given to an architect who has done much to revivify the Gothic tradition in America, Ralph Adams Cram, and to a Justice of the Supreme Court, Charles Evans Hughes. Yale seems to have been catholic enough in her bestowal of honors to suit the most captious critic.

Cornell graduated the largest class yet—919—in its history of forty-seven years. The great event of Commencement week was the unveiling before an assemblage of five thousand people of a bronze statue of Dr. Andrew Dickson White, the first President of the University, the chief counselor of its founder, the late Ezra Cornell, and also its generous benefactor. His granddaughter, Miss Grace Helen Ferry, pulled the cord that removed its covering. Designed and executed by the late Karl Bitter, the statue is given to the University by Mr. Henry R. Ickelheimer, a graduate and one of its Trustees.

At Smith College, Northampton, whose thirty-seventh year is notable for the largest enrollment in its history—1,638—the proposal of the graduating class to purchase for the College the birthplace and homestead of its founder, Sophia Smith, was enthusiastically adopted, and in about ten minutes the required sum, $4,000, was raised.

WAR AND BUSINESS

American business men are quick to resent the imputation that the profit to them resulting from the European war has deadened their sense of sympathy for the afflicted countries. The press of one of the belligerent nations in particular has repeatedly charged that Americans are happy over the European war because of its financial advantage to them. While this is far from the facts in the case, it is true that the business men of the United States realize from a practical standpoint that tremendous opportunities have been opened to them by the foreign conflict. The European war, in fact, has taught the American public a number of economic lessons, some of them hard ones.

Many phases of this situation were brought out interestingly at the eleventh annual Convention of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World at Chicago, which opened June 20 and continued four days. A large number of valuable talks were made by business men, some of the more interesting being those delivered as lay sermons by advertising men in Chicago churches. Among these lay sermons may be mentioned that of William R. Malone, President of the Postal Life Insurance Company of New York, who took for his text the "first great advertising precept," the words of the Saviour, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations."

William Woodhead, of San Francisco, President of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, said: "This cruel and wasteful war in Europe has brought us great responsibilities and tremendous opportunities. Business men who see the true trend of things are mobilizing for a great forward movement, one that is going to make the United States the greatest commercial, industrial, and financial nation in the world. The word 'imported' is not going to mean so much in the future. 'Made in the U. S. A.' will be a popular brand. Advertising must share in this movement because advertising is the twentieth-century dynamo of American business."

THE MORAL FORCE OF COMMERCE

The emphasis placed by the advertising Convention upon *conscience in business* is highly significant; and as an organization that makes war upon commercial fraud and brings out the finest motives in business intercourse the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World takes a position of no small importance in the forward movement of the time. "Honest advertising sapped, mined, and shelled the intrenchments of sophistry and deceit amidst a hurricane of oratory," said the Chicago "Tribune," reporting the opening session of the Convention, and, editorially, the following day:

> Any gathering that emphasizes the relation of clean, purposeful business and awakens a sympathetic public opinion by its very candor is clearing the way for general advancement

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with the re-establishment of peace in Europe. . . . The American public wants its business men to be fair. For that reason, if for no other, the motto, "Truth in Advertising," is one of the significant signs of the time.

Joseph E. Davies, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, paid a remarkable tribute to advertising. He said he had found advertising to be fertile with blessings to the public, a valuable agency in commerce which creates public opinion. "It is to the credit of your profession," he told the advertising men, "that you have found within your own spirit the initiative and moral purpose to base your business activities upon the principles of righteousness." Mr. Davies expressed the regret of President Wilson at his inability to attend the Convention, saying that this regret "was particularly accentuated by reason of the splendid and altruistic character of the purpose of your organization."

John H. Fahey, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, made an address in which he said: "The value of advertising to society has, in fact, so impressed itself that to-day publicity is the light of the world. It may be said, with little element of speculation in the assertion, that if publicity had characterized dealings between the nations of Europe during the past fifty years and secret diplomacy had been eliminated, the present world war, with its terrorism and threat to civilization, would not now be raging."

Bishop Warren A. Candler, Chancellor of Emory College, Oxford, Georgia, addressed the Convention on "Commerce and Christianity." He made a number of crisp observations, among them: "It is not big, but bad, business we have to fear. . . . Our political probers produce more pus than purity. . . . The commerce which has no international outlook is but a step removed from the trade of a huckster."

Dr. Charles R. Van Hise, President of the University of Wisconsin, told of some of the methods by which education can be utilized for a more equitable distribution of the Nation's wealth. A remarkable development of the early sessions of the Convention was the proposal of a plan to establish a board of censorship of advertising. This followed a suggestion of Merle Sidener, an industrial propagandist of Indianapolis, and Chairman of the Vigilance Committee of the advertising organization, that "henceforth quackery and fraud in advertising be held to 'strict accountability.'"

AN AMATEUR THE OPEN GOLF CHAMPION

For the second time in the history of the game of golf in the United States an amateur has won the open golf championship of the country. The tournament was played over the course of the Baltusrol Golf Club, at Short Hills, New Jersey. The first victory for an amateur was won by Francis Ouimet two years ago, when he defeated the English veteran professionals Ray and Vardon in as dramatic a contest as has ever been staged on an American golf course. The English and the American open championships have each been only twice won by amateurs, a fact which by itself shows the difficulty of the undertaking. Mr. Travers is twenty-eight years old, and has four times won the amateur championship of the United States, a record that has been approached only by Walter J. Travis, who has three times held the same title.

The open championships are contested for, as all golfers know, by medal and not match play. Travers completed the seventy-two holes of the contest in a total of 297 strokes, winning the title by the margin of a single stroke over Tom McNamara, the Boston professional. Throughout the match Travers showed a remarkable ability at recovering himself from difficult situations, as, for instance, on the fifteenth hole of the morning round of the last day. There he topped his second shot into a sand pit a full fifty yards short of the green. From this difficult lie he approached with a niblick to within a yard of the hole.

In golf, as in other sports, it is the unexpected which creates ninety per cent of the interest in the game. Even the most skillful player is never sure of that muscular and mental control without which scores mount in a fashion discouraging alike to the pride and to the prospect of coming home with anything but a hard-luck story to tell.

SIGNS OF PROGRESS

Those who are looking for evidences of the change of attitude on the part of employers towards their employees will find them in many directions. The movement for social justice is steadily going on; and those who despair of a peaceful settlement of the issues between capital and labor may well take heart. Recalling the long-continued dislike of the New Haven Railroad on the part of its patrons and the financial tragedy that

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overtook it a few years ago, it is very interesting to read the account of the party which the road recently gave its employees at the Bronx Opera-House in New York. The special purpose of the party was to interest the employees of the road in safety methods and to build up the *esprit de corps* of the organization.

The men who came found President Elliott, the Vice-President, and other officials of the road waiting to shake hands with them; and two thousand conductors, engineers, firemen, and yardmen with their wives crowded into the Opera-House. There were movies, monologues, and orchestral pieces; and then President Elliott, who has shown how a railway may regain the confidence of a community and be rebuilt by courage, frankness, and ability, made a speech in which he said he regarded the twenty-five thousand employees of the New Haven Railway as one huge family; that he had this constantly in mind in the endeavor to make the road safe. Every employee, he said, "should breathe safety, talk safety, feel safety, and dream safety." He also said that new rails are being laid; nearly four hundred new steel cars have been purchased; reasonable speed and unusual regularity have already been secured. The watchwords of the wards of the road should be "efficiency, safety, economy, courtesy, and publicity." The railway is to do the best it can and to strive to do better all the time. In this way it is endeavoring to secure the help of the public in working out its problems. Truly a new day has come when a great railway is managed in such a spirit as that expressed by President Elliott.

At the beginning of the European war the price of copper dropped to eleven cents and the managers of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company and its subsidiaries in upper Michigan reduced the wages of their employees ten per cent. The market for copper has been steadily improving of late, and on May 1 full time was resumed and wages restored to their former figure. These companies have now paid their employees approximately a half million dollars out of recent profits, an amount which equals the amount lost by the men by the reduction of wages. This payment is understood to have been made without solicitation by the employees, each man receiving exactly the amount that he lost through the ten per cent wage reduction. Such signs of peace as these indicate a change of sentiment and of practice full of the assurance of industrial peace in the future.

THE NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Among the numerous conventions held in California this Exposition year, the Northern Baptist Convention at Los Angeles, last month, has been conspicuous. Nearly two thousand delegates, representing approximately a million and a half Northern Baptists, assembled.

Two problems loomed large at this Convention. They are of the greatest importance, not only in themselves, but as affecting the genius and success of the denomination in its extensive work.

The first problem was that of "efficiency." For several years a special commission has been at work, aided by commercial experts, to determine whether the missionary work of the denomination is being done as efficiently and economically as it can be accomplished. At the Convention, as was expected, the commission offered the most complete report yet made. It recommended the amalgamation of the American Baptist Publication Society and the American Baptist Home Mission Society as to their missionary work, with one general headquarters for both, in New York. But, contrary to wide expectation, it was found that the business affairs of all the societies investigated were being conducted with marked prudence and wisdom. Thus general economic efficiency has received high testimonial among the Northern Baptists this year.

The President of the Foreign Mission Society, Dr. C. H. Jones, declared that "efficiency" was an "overworked term which needed a long vacation." The President of the Woman's Foreign Mission Society, Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery, stated that in healthy emulation there is always a duplication of effort, and that missions are something like raising babies—there must be overlapping; several must help in rearing the same child. The net result of this discussion to the Baptists of the North, therefore, seems likely to be, not the elimination of similar agencies of distribution, but adjustment of ideas and reallotment of fields, in order to increase the sum total of religious endeavor.

BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSIONS

The second great problem for this Convention was that of possible retrenchment in

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missionary work abroad. The Foreign Society has had more difficulty in securing sufficient funds than the others, because its work is the largest. Its debts, also, have been correspondingly larger. The debts of all the societies of the last and preceding years have been nobly paid; but a year ago the Convention directed its co-operating organizations to prepare budgets in the future based on probable income, and not in excess of it. This the societies did; and in the case of the Foreign Society this meant a retrenchment of approximately $100,000, in the face of the urgent need of advance in every particular.

The Convention this year reversed the verdict of the last similar assembly, and after strenuous debate, and by a close vote, directed the Foreign Society to expend and asked the Finance Committee of the Convention to approve the expenditure of the aforesaid $100,000 of proposed retrenchment, and up to $1,000,000. Most of the officers of the Convention and of the societies, and many leaders familiar with the dangerous and unbusinesslike method of spending money which is not assured, voted against this resolution; while a few of the leaders and many delegates generally voted for it optimistically as a venture of faith. Thus a serious, systematic effort to prevent missionary debts from year to year was temporarily retarded. But more seriously yet, the denomination is now face to face with the question whether matters of far-reaching policy shall be decided fully by popular assembly, which varies greatly from year to year, and contrarily to the recommendations of its own administrative bodies; or whether these policies shall conform more closely to the views of the elected boards of more permanent character and with closer insight into the facts and details involved. Certainly the deliberate retraction by the Convention of its position last year, in the face of the opposite desire on the part of the majority of its officers, bids fair to raise further questions for settlement.

This Convention is only about a decade old. It is finding itself and its tasks rapidly. In common with many Protestant denominations, it counts its missionary work its supreme and life-preserving task. The budget and apportionment system has been in use for several years with constantly increasing returns. The denomination co-operates financially and fraternally with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

A COURAGEOUS GOVERNOR

Few Governors have rendered a public service more bravely than Governor Slaton, of Georgia. When he faced the duty of studying the case of Leo M. Frank, convicted of murder, he knew that on his decision rested something more than the life of a single man. While the Prison Board was considering the petition for a recommendation of the commutation of this man's sentence, a group within earshot of the place where that committee held its hearing was agitating for the man's execution. The trial had been conducted in an atmosphere created by a mob spirit; the conviction was greeted, not as a vindication of law, but as a satisfaction of the mob's cry for vengeance; and the whole course of the case on appeal to the State courts and to the United States Supreme Court has been accompanied by a counter-appeal to the spirit of the mob. On technical grounds, and not on the merits of the case, the prisoner's plea for a new trial was in each case denied. The Prison Commission, which heard arguments pro and con, unexpectedly declined, by a vote of two to one, to recommend the commutation of the sentence from hanging to life imprisonment. Therefore, when the case came finally before the Governor, he had to assume sole responsibility for the decision. And he knew very well that if he decided for commutation he would invite the condemnation of the mob and a reassertion of the mob spirit.

There is in every community an element that may be formed into a mob. It is this element that is sometimes called the rabble. In most American communities it is a very small element indeed. A rabble or a mob is always cowardly. It never attacks a body of equal size or power. It usually is directed against a single individual. It is easily dispersed by any organized force. It is thoughtless as well as cowardly. By mere numbers it may at times seem dangerous to the community, and it is always dangerous to individuals. There are two ways of dealing with the mob. One is to accept it at its own valuation, to yield to it, parley with it, and submit to its dictation. There is only one other way, and that is to defy it and suppress it. During the trial of Leo M. Frank there was abundant evidence to show that the mob was largely in control. The very fact that the Court was not willing to have the prisoner face his accusers when he was sentenced, as is the prisoner's right, for fear of mob vio-

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lence shows that at the crucial moment the mob was uppermost.

Whether Leo M. Frank is innocent or guilty The Outlook has never discussed. That there is ground for a doubt of his guilt is abundantly shown by the records of the case, including the statement of the trial Judge and now of the Governor of the State. But more important than the question of his guilt or innocence was the question whether the mob should control or be controlled.

Governor Slaton defied the mob, and won a victory for the State of Georgia and for American civilization.

In commenting upon Governor Slaton's decision the "Evening Sun" of New York said last week:

The even temper and fine control of passion displayed by the people of Georgia upon the commutation of Leo M. Frank's sentence by Governor Slaton completely vindicate Georgia justice and inflict a stinging rebuke upon those impertinent outsiders who hinted that Frank's conviction was the product of a moral if not a physical reign of terror.

The irony of this comment is not apparent until one reads the following from the "Evening Sun's" news despatches published on the same date:

Despite the improved conditions, the scene this morning was decidedly warlike about the Governor's country home, where he last night declared martial law in order to protect himself from an angry crowd that threatened violence because he had commuted the death sentence of Frank for the murder of Mary Phagan.

The entire Fifth Regiment Georgia National Guard was in camp about the Governor's home, the Governor's Horse Guard was patrolling the roads, and two machine guns were posted so as to cover the approaches to the house. . . . It is said to be the first time in the history of the United States that a Governor has called out the troops and declared martial law for his own protection. . . .

So far no attack has been made on the Jews. The animosity of the crowd seems directed at Governor Slaton. The marching cry of those making the demonstration has been, "We want John M. Slaton, King of the Jews and traitor Governor of Georgia."

The element that makes up such a mob is, in Atlanta as in other American communities, a minority. The real question in Atlanta has been whether the great body of people of Georgia will allow that minority to control. Governor Slaton was right in saying: "It's not the people of Georgia out there" (referring to the mob)—"not the worthwhile people. It's the ragtag element. I want to tell you that their demonstration doesn't mean an expression by the State, sir."

It has remained for Governor Slaton to express what we believe to be the true spirit of the people of Georgia and of America. He has said that his decision means that he is henceforth to live in obscurity. If that is so, it is by no means the heaviest penalty a man can pay. But we misunderstand the people of Georgia if Governor Slaton will not have from them, not a penalty, but a reward—a reward of confidence and gratitude.

The reign of terror in Georgia is over, and the man who has driven the usurper from his throne is John M. Slaton.

WORSE THAN HELL

"War is hell." But there are experiences which, if permitted, would be worse than hell. If this were not so, a just God would never allow hell to exist.

Crime unpunished, unrestrained, unprevented; criminals uncured; greed, cruelty, malice, allowed to riot unchecked; purity and innocence unprotected from rapacity and lust; a universe given over to lawlessness, would be infinitely worse than the hell which Jonathan Edwards, Milton, and Dante portrayed.

"War is hell." But the world has suffered experiences that are worse than war.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was worse than the war bravely fought by the Netherlanders to defend their country from Spanish despotism. The massacre of the unresisting Armenians was worse than the Crimean War. The massacre of the unresisting Jews was worse than the Russo-Japanese War. Worse than the War of 1812 would have been the cowardice of America if it had left without resistance American citizens to be impressed by British men-of-war upon the high seas. Worse than the Civil War would have been the cowardly acquiescence of a once liberty-loving people had they allowed an empire with slavery for its corner-stone to be erected extending from the Ohio River to the Isthmus of Panama. Worse than the Spanish-American War would have been a recreant America acquiescing in the cruelties perpetrated under the Weyler régime on the helpless Cubans.

There is a price too great to pay for peace. To consent to injustice, to leave the defenseless undefended, to submit in craven spirit

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to despotism, to flee from peril with duties unfulfilled—these are far too high a purchase price to pay for peace.

AN OLD TOWN AND ITS MEMORIES

Ashfield is a hill town in western Massachusetts, rich in charming views and fertile in capable men and women. The enthusiasm with which it has celebrated its successive anniversaries has been evidence of something better than a wholesome local pride; it has cherished those traditions which express the spirit of a community. Far less rich than many sections in which the soil needs only the touch of an intelligent hand to make it lavishly fertile, Ashfield has been rich in the independence of spirit, industry, and aspiration of many of the boys and girls who were fortunate enough to grow up in a country which was beautiful to the eye but not indulgent to the hand.

The spirit of Ashfield has been expressed in the Sanderson Academy, which has fitted a host of boys and girls for college, and has united old-fashioned classical training with a vigorous emphasis on character. Around the Academy have gathered intellectual associations of a very unusual character, for Ashfield was for many years the summer home of George William Curtis and Charles Eliot Norton, two of the most accomplished and cultivated Americans of their time. Their presence brought other men and women of kindred interests, and the annual dinner at the Sanderson Academy became a literary event, not widely advertised, but immensely enjoyed. The return of Lowell from England, at the close of his service as Ambassador, was made the occasion of a special welcome to a man who at that time might well have been called the foremost American. Norton presided at the dinner. Among the speakers were Curtis, Lowell, Christopher Cranch, Chadwick, and Dr. G. Stanley Hall. Those who were fortunate enough to be present at the modest repast were aware of an Attic quality in a feast the emphasis of which rested on ideas and not on an elaborate menu.

Lowell was at his best. He had returned after a long absence to the New England he loved. The summer was at its height, and the mountain country was a riot of wild flowers, always dear to a poet who loved New England as Burns loved Scotland. Mrs. Lowell had died abroad; there had been many changes; Lowell was getting to be an elderly man; and his home-coming was one of happiness tempered by the pathos of the diminishing circle of friends and the sense that his work was largely done. Sitting under an apple tree with a pipe in his hand, at ease after his heavy responsibilities, Lowell was at his best talking with the freedom and much of the delight of a boy coming back to the old home after a prolonged excursion in the world. There were evenings in Norton's library or on Curtis's veranda which will always be memorable to the younger men who happened to share that companionship.

Ashfield recently celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary; and the principal address was made by one of its most distinguished men, Dr. G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University. In his address, which was eminently suggestive of the time, the place, and the soil, there was an intimate picture of a New England boyhood which must have seemed to his auditors like the return of the golden age of youth:

> The older we grow, the more prone we are to indulge in memories of the past, and as I review my life the most fortunate thing about it was that I was born of the 'sturdy old Puritan, first-growth stock, and spent my childhood and youth in the Ashfield of half a century or more ago. I learned to hoe, mow, chop, plow, plant, sow, milk, fodder cattle, clean stalls, dig, make fences and stone walls, shovel snow, mend roads, break in steers and colts, care for young pigs, lambs, calves, make maple sugar, soap out of the lye, wood ashes, and fat; and evenings my father taught me how to make brooms, and my mother and aunts how to braid palm-leaf hats, knit stockings and shag mittens, and I was often called on to make fires, wash dishes, and even to cook a little, although this latter was often severely criticised by those who had to partake of my viands. Now we call these things agriculture, domestic art, or occupations, but then we called it work. I then belonged to what is now designated as the toiling masses; that is, I was simply a farmer's boy; and never was there more ideal environment for boys to grow up in than the old New England farm of those happy days.
>
> Life here, then, was by no means all a grind, for there was abundant recreation. There was much fishing, and fish were then plenty, with trapping and hunting; there were games galore, out of doors and within, for summer and winter. There were spelling and singing schools, and weekly debates in the winter evenings in the school-houses, and occasional dances at private houses, bad as these and surreptitious games

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of old sledge and euchre were. There was the old library in the Sanderson tannery, the tedious, solemn Sunday with its two church services, between which we ate home-made cookies with caraway seeds, and the yet more tedious Sunday-school, in which I did the most unnatural and monstrous thing of learning, for a prize, the whole of the New England catechism, of which I then understood and now remember nothing save that the chief end of man was "to glorify God and enjoy him forever," whatever that might mean; and there was the tremendous experience of moving the old yellow church from the flat to its present position on the plain.

Dr. Hall gave a very characteristic interpretation of the village habit of gossip, a "favorite occupation of the keen Yankee mind" at a time when it lacked richer material and turned "instinctively to an analysis of motives, often dissecting conduct, exposing pretense, criticising even dress and manners, and all as acute and sometimes as merciless as a modern psycho-analyst to his patient in a clinic." The motive of this local rustic mental activity was often self-justification or the assumption that by disparaging another we are by implication putting ourselves in a better light; and there was always the supposition that we would never ourselves do, think, or feel what we dispraised in our neighbors. Dr. Hall quotes a German savant as saying that psychology begins in gossip.

Such celebrations as that at Ashfield are valuable because they recall the human background of the community and remind the men and women of to-day of customs and qualities somewhat out of fashion at the moment, but not to be put aside with the poke-bonnets, the stiff brocades, and the knee-breeches of the eighteenth century. Many people are trying with might and main to make the world better, and are trying so hard that they have come to believe that nobody has made the attempt before. But the fact is that our ancestors, on many a well-fought field, in many a terrible crisis, during many a time of self-sacrifice and dull routine, were striving as sincerely as we to bring in the kingdom of God.

PACIFISM AND PREPAREDNESS

A POLL OF THE PRESS

WHO WOULD ATTACK US?

WE may at any time be called upon to protect the integrity of the Monroe Doctrine or to defend ourselves against attack by Japan, asserts the Rochester "Democrat and Chronicle," but it adds that the chances of such happenings are remote. "They are too remote for us to feel ourselves called upon to spend immense sums at once in preparing for them or in multiplying our standing army several times for the purpose of meeting such situations."

How about the European nations? There are two views. One is that of Representative Hay, Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs. The Charleston "News and Courier" reports him as saying: "How people can claim that these great nations now at war, which are exhausting themselves financially and physically, as soon as the war is over are going to turn around and attack the strongest nation on earth is beyond my comprehension." In other words, explains the Charleston paper, Mr. Hay believes that the struggle in which the European nations are engaged will weaken all of them to such an extent that we have no reason to fear them. The "News and Courier" then proceeds to combat this theory:

If we are to accept the innumerable lessons of history, Mr. Hay and all the others who hold this comfortable theory are absolutely mistaken except in the event that the European struggle ends in a deadlock. If the war is fought out to a decisive finish and one side conquers the other, the victorious faction, despite the losses it will have suffered, will be enormously strong in a military sense—much stronger than when the war began. The history of our own great war is a precedent. When that struggle began, the United States had practically no navy or army. When it ended, the United States navy was the strongest in the world and the United States army was certainly the most formidable in existence. Instead of being weakened by the long and devastating struggle, the United States emerged from it the most powerful naval and military nation on the globe.

Precisely the same phenomenon will take place in Europe unless Europe's struggle ends in a draw. If one faction or the other conquers, that faction, instead of being in a state of exhaustion as a result of the struggle, will have been tremendously strengthened by it. The

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idea that we are safe from attack for a long time to come because the European nations are wearing themselves out is a dangerous error.

PASSIVISTS

What, then, shall we do? Remain passive? Yes, say some.

Passivists are peace-at-any-price men—at least, that is what one would think from the New York "Evening Post's" long-cherished opinion:

To our mind, this is not only not the time to inquire about our preparedness for war, it is the time to refuse to vote a single additional ship, and to lead the world toward disarmament by beginning to disarm ourselves. The high example to be set by such an action would make a thrilling appeal to the victims of the war—certainly to enlightened consciences in every quarter of the globe.

Later the "Post" said, speaking of "the formidable instrument of oppression which Germany has forged, and which for forty years has weighed our old world down with its hideous weight:"

Would not Americans look supremely foolish if they had rushed into a needless squandering of treasure and energy, for the purpose of forging, on their own account, another such formidable instrument of oppression?

NOT PASSIVISTS

Yet there are pacifists and pacifists. There are those who are pacifists because they differ in method from the men they call militarists. The World Peace Foundation has been conducting a conference at Cornell University under Mr. Norman Angell's guidance, and the "Post" correspondent thus summarizes its conclusions:

(1) Adequate defense is not something absolute. It is a function of the Power against whose probable aggression we wish to defend. For this reason, discussion of defense first and foremost requires a definition of policy for which defense is demanded.

(2) Since nations are now fighting in groups, since war itself has become internationalized and dependent on international understandings and treaties, the standard of adequate defense must be at least one surpassing that of some one of the present alliances or that of some contemplated new grouping of Powers.

(3) Any considerable increase in armaments might prove a challenge which might lead to a coalition of Powers to avert and, if need be, anticipate the danger suspected to lie in our militarism.

(4) The ineffectiveness of the forces of either of the alliances in the present conflict to put a check upon the other's violations of international law should convince us of the inapplicability of militarism to the solution of our issue.

(5) Further, the issue caused by the violation of our own neutral rights and those of others, as a result of policies against which we have protested, renders it impossible for us to join either side without first coming to a certain understanding.

(6) The situation and the very nature of our demands upon both sides require some international organization, some agreement between ourselves and other nations as to what international law is and is to be, and eventually the creation of some deliberative body for the purpose.

(7) To enforce such a plan it may well be necessary to contribute our share through the means of arms and other forces.

(8) Should our armaments prove too inadequate a contribution, then would be the time to increase, for only then could the determinate degree and kind of increase be known.

(9) In the absence of any such international policy, there should be no increase except what is technically needed for repairs.

BRYAN AND GOMPERS

In this connection ex-Secretary Bryan's statements are not uninteresting. To him there are but two methods—persuasion and force—and he believes in the first. Whereupon the Detroit "Free Press" inquires: "Have you tried persuasion on your rose-bugs?" Moreover, possession of the means of National defense is, according to Mr. Bryan, apparently dangerous as a temptation to take the offensive. Says the Sioux Falls "Press:"

We should not be prepared, then, to resist the aggression of warlike peoples lest we be tempted to use the weapons of defense for purposes of aggression on our own account. No man should keep a pistol in his house to protect his wife and daughters from attack or to drive burglars away lest he be tempted to slip it into his pocket and go out thieving and killing on his own account.

What in the world is the matter with Bryan, anyway? He thinks we are brainy enough to settle all disputes by arbitration, and yet we are subject to rabies if there is a weapon in sight! Some of Mr. Bryan's utterances fail miserably to dovetail with his oft-professed faith in human nature.

Addressing a labor peace meeting in New York the other day, Mr. Bryan expounded his doctrine, which the Washington "Herald" calls disarmament and refusal to fight for

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any cause. "Were the proposition put to him in those words he would be compelled to admit it," the paper asserts, and continues:

Mr. Bryan is not supporting the President, because he has himself admitted that his own ideas of the means to preserve peace are diametrically opposed to those of Mr. Wilson. And in urging his policies upon union labor he is in conflict with Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, for on the day Mr. Bryan spoke in New York Mr. Gompers wrote that, with all his abhorrence of war, "there are some things that are even more abhorrent than war—that is, to be robbed of the birthright of freedom, justice, safety, and character." On the subject of peace and war Mr. Gompers's views are much nearer those of the President than are Mr. Bryan's. The President of the United States and the President of the American Federation of Labor are advocates of peace, but not at the sacrifice of the Nation's rights and honor.

A SOCIALIST VIEW

The pacifists like to call those who believe in preparedness jingoes or militarists. Thus, the Milwaukee "Leader," the well-known Socialist organ, treats the subject jocosely:

The jingo press has not got all of us yet. If we are to judge by two meetings held this week in New York, there are several sane persons even in that center of armament hysteria.

An organization calling itself the "National Security League," but which has been much more appropriately dubbed the "National Hysteria League," held a convention, climaxing in a great mass-meeting. . . .

The Socialist party and the trade unions of New York have been holding peace meetings recently. They have held them frequently. They have never had a single Cabinet member, past or present, to decorate their programme and platform. But they have had scarcely a meeting at which there were not ten times as many persons as came out to listen to the "hysteria" speakers. All of these meetings have denounced everything for which the "hysteria" league stands.

As to any war spirit animating the non-pacifists-at-any-price, a paper from the neighboring State of Iowa, the Cedar Rapids "Gazette," remarks with equal pungency:

It has not been noticed that the war spirit had assumed the alarming character of an epidemic. . . . The truth is that only an overt act so gross in character as to be beyond the range of adjustment by amicable means would drive Americans to war. Common sense is so generally distributed in the United States that a safe majority of the people know what is good for themselves and their neighbors.

PREPAREDNESS A PREVENTIVE

One of the questions submitted to the Security League was, "Is Europe to-day your example of peace by preparedness?"

The question scarcely remained unanswered because it was a poser, affirms the New York "Globe." "Europe is certainly not an example of peace through preparedness." The paper adds:

No sensible person has ever advanced the proposition that preparedness brings assurance of peace. Nor does any sensible person deny that the general possession of arms, taking human nature as it is, tends to stimulate shooting.

Nevertheless, there is not much pertinence to the question. War may come to a country when prepared. War may come to a country when unprepared. Neither preparedness nor unpreparedness is a bar to war. Belgium, ill prepared, is at war, while Switzerland, well prepared, is not. China, the least militaristic of nations, has had many wars, and so has armed-to-the-teeth Japan. Why childish talk back and forth over the question of which is the better form of insurance against war when neither is effective? . . .

Preparedness may mean to misuse the power developed, or it may merely mean ability to defend against attack. It is a two-edged sword. If one side is kept sheathed, it makes for peace. If the other, it makes for war.

Be that as it may, another metropolitan paper, the New York "Times," expresses a general conviction and conclusion as it affirms:

Doubt as to necessity for an immediate strengthening of our National defenses cannot now exist in the mind of the most peacefully disposed American citizen. We are not going to plunge into war, we are going to avoid war as long as it is possible to do so with honor, but the lesson of the hour is that war cannot always be avoided by being peaceable and minding our own business. War exists in its most terrible forms, and it has been brought perilously near to us. We cannot be prepared in time of peace to take part in a war with a first-class Power, that is out of the question. But we can take measures to improve our coast defenses, strengthen our naval force, and increase our army to the statutory limit, so that in case of alarm we may be better prepared to set in motion all the machinery for our protection.

UNREADINESS

This is all very well, but are we ready even to prepare? On this point the Boston "Globe" pertinently asserts:

The United States does not know how much ammunition it could count on, or how rapidly

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the supply could be produced. There has been no inventory of our resources. Nor is ammunition the whole of war. There are a hundred other details to consider—details now left to chance. America is not only grossly unprepared, but it is unready to prepare. The most ardent peace advocate could not object to a movement looking toward a tabulation of possible strength or weakness. There is at present no such collection of facts. If there is even the beginning of it, the American people have not been so informed.

Nevertheless, we are making a beginning. In addition to the National Security League two other organizations are working toward the same end of preparedness: first, the Navy League, devoted to the naval branch of defense; and, second, the American Legion, which is cataloguing the reserve force of the Nation, graduates of the regular army and militia, and men in all branches of activity whose skill might be useful in time of war.

The danger that any of these three organizations might become a "menace to our institutions" is absurd, declares the Waterbury "American." "The directing powers in all of them comprise men of such antipodal sympathies in ordinary National affairs that probably never before have all of them agreed on any one thing."

THE ARMY

What to do? First, fill up the army regiments, as urged by Mr. Garrison, the Secretary of War. Says the Knoxville "Sentinel" on this point:

No pacificist need feel the least alarm lest the adoption of Secretary Garrison's recommendations of an army increase would commit this country to militarism. He does not ask for new regiments, but only for the recruiting of existing organizations up to their full strength. This would require 25,900 more soldiers in the ranks than there are now. It would require few or no more officers. The per capita annual cost would be about a third of the average per capita cost of the army at the present time, as the organization charges would not be increased appreciably. The effective strength of the regular army last July was about 93,000. Only 30,800 were available for a mobile force in the United States. The remainder are in service in the Canal Zone, in the Philippines, in Hawaii, or are employed in auxiliary services. When some additional forces are sent to outlying posts, as they must be in the near future, the mobile force of the United States will be reduced to about 24,600 unless there is an increased enlistment. The adoption of the recommendations of the Secretary of War would afford a mobile force of only about 50,000 men, which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be made to seem excessive for a population of nearly 100,000,000.

Then there is another point well described by the Kansas City "Star:"

It seems a characteristic attitude of American employers to frown on any military activity by their employees.

"No, you can't have ten days off to go tin soldiering," a Kansas City employer told a salesman of his recently. "If you want to be a soldier, join the army."

No attitude could be more short-sighted. Outside of our tiny regular army the National Guard is the sole trained land defense of the United States. And its entirely inadequate training of ten days or two weeks each year is hampered in a most serious manner by the failure of employers to recognize the value of organized militia and allow their employees who belong to National Guard units time for field training.

Such a condition is to be deplored. It would not be out of province for the commercial organizations of the city to appoint committees, as is done in Washington, D. C., and many other cities, to assist the officers of the Guard in getting out their full company and regimental strength.

Just now, while the Nation is realizing its lack of proper National defense, such a campaign should meet with popular approval. It would result at least in a better acquaintance with the National Guard, a condition greatly desired by the Guard officers and needed by the general public.

THE NAVY

Recent Secretaries of the Navy have been pointing out our naval defects—notably the lack of speed and power in our first battle line. Moreover, our submarines are out of date, the undersea boat now in service in Europe being quite out of class with most of ours. Furthermore, our Naval Reserve is insufficient to support our present fleet. Finally, our supply of naval ammunition is not great enough to last an hour in actual conflict.

The popular idea of what requirements should be is thus summarized by Mr. Bonaparte, ex-Secretary of the Navy, as quoted by the Washington "Times:"

1. The navy should be in position to dispute command of the seas with any Power save England on equal terms: this being necessary to prevent immediate invasion.

2. The army should be large enough to per-

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mit the concentration quickly at any coastal point of a force fifty per cent greater than the force which any other power could despatch here at once for purposes of invasion.

CONGRESS

So much for what we want. How to get it? Congress will have to act. When and how? And shall Congress be instructed as to details? No, says Mr. Bonaparte, as reported by the Washington paper:

His proposition is that the public cannot determine the size of the army or navy; that it cannot decide what is needed; that its business is to say what it expects of each, and that after it has said it it is the business of the experts and strategists to determine how large, how apportioned, and how equipped the service must be to meet requirements.

He leaves it to the strategists to decide whether Germany, for instance, could send an expedition of 100,000 or 1,000,000 men across the Atlantic. The difficulties of transport service, of provisioning, and of maintaining communications, which would determine the size of the invading army, are for the experts to estimate. What we need is the means to prevent invasion by whatever may be the numerically practicable force.

All may not agree with Mr. Bonaparte over the desiderata, says the "Times" editorially, though to most they will seem modest enough by any standard of defense. "But he hits the nail squarely on the head when he intimates that what the Nation is blindly, ignorantly groping for is an assurance of safety, and that it should ask boldly for it and leave to the authorities to determine what must be done to get it. . . . Charles J. Bonaparte has come very near to the true solution of getting this country into a satisfactory condition of military preparedness."

PREPAREDNESS AND POLITICS

When our National lawmakers meet, the subject of preparedness will probably become a paramount issue. How do the political parties stand regarding it?

While the Republicans have the credit of beginning the agitation in favor of more effective preparedness, chronicles the Burlington "Free Press," many Democrats sprang to the task so promptly as to make them near-pioneers in the movement, and the late Secretary of the Navy Whitney under President Cleveland was the father of the new navy. The Burlington paper adds:

The present Administration will have an advantage over the Republicans from the fact that it can initiate measures looking to better defense, . . . and thus take the wind out of Republican sails to a marked degree.

While an effort is certain to be made on both sides to make political capital out of the problem of preparedness for war, the people as a whole are likely to take a broad view of the situation, and insist that the question is so intimately bound up with the National honor and welfare that efforts to make it a party issue should be summarily suppressed.

LEXINGTON'S PEACE PAGEANT

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE completion of a hundred years of peace between England and the United States was to have been celebrated at Ghent in December last. But Ghent was in the grip of war. There seemed no other suitable spot at the time, but this summer Lexington, the scene of the first battle of the American Revolution, took up the centenary and presented in the evenings of June 21, 22, and 23 a symbolic and historic spectacle to commemorate a century of peace between the two nations.

Hundreds of motor cars whirled along the old road up which the British redcoats had marched. Along this elm-shaded road one tree was boldly placarded: "This tree was planted by Jonathan Harrington, the last survivor of the battle." No need to ask what battle, for there is only one that this part of the world knows about. The statue of the Minute-man, like the one at Concord Bridge, stands on a pedestal beside the trolley tracks, and shows that the "embattled farmers" are honored in their own country.

But the centenary spectacle was not held on Lexington Common. It had, instead, an ideal setting on the outskirts of the town. There nature had provided a theater big enough to frame historic scenes. The hill sloped down, with room enough for thousands of seats, to the dividing line of a green-fringed rivulet, then rose again in a broad

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incline dotted with elms and birches to a wood of cedars, beyond which, to one side, gleamed the waters of a lake and hills on the farther shore. Another inset of water, with water-lilies folded in the sunset peace, lay to the left in the wings of this great grassy stage. There was a grove to shelter the orchestra and the properties. No more perfect outdoor scene has been secured since Quebec celebrated her tercentenary on the Plains of Abraham, to which, of course, few other spots can compare for scenic effect. Moonlight cast its added spell over the thousands of spectators.

On such a night it was no surprise to have a curtain of mist rise out of the earth, played upon by electric searchlights with rainbow colors as a prelude.

The outdoor stage and its arrangements took months to build and will be permanent. The depth of this grassy stage is eight hundred feet and its width nearly twice that size, and in a trench at the front the steam curtain apparatus is installed, by which the rising wall of steam shuts off the stage from view whenever desired. Electric searchlights play on this curtain, giving marvelous color effects. Groves, lake, and hills form the natural wings and back-drop of the scene, which was made dazzlingly bright or dark at will by the searchlights.

The bright curtain dissolved and sank, and behind it stood forth the symbolic dancers who opened the spectacle, summoning the spirits of earth, air, fire and water, storm and sun, and the bringing of order and peace out of chaos. There were hundreds of dancers, sweeping and circling, fluttering on the distant hills and winding through the groves, and the music, which was composed for the occasion by Chalmers Clifton, who conducted the orchestra of a hundred pieces, was very attractive. Still, on the whole, this was the weakest part of the spectacle, having less unity and effect than the historic scenes.

The scheme of the drama was partly allegorical, but had four magnificent historic scenes, with multitudes of actors accurately costumed and trained.

Peace and war were linked in the management of the whole by having it for the benefit of the Red Cross. Everybody appeared to be helping, from the Grange and the Knights of Columbus to the railway and the big moving-picture company who sent their expert to be stage director. His skill was shown by the extraordinary finish of the stage grouping. The continual pantomime was remarkable in its excellence, and proceeded without delay or hitch from beginning to end, setting a new and highly desirable standard in outdoor stagecraft.

The steam curtain, or geyser curtain, as it might have been called, rose before the dancers, glowed and paled exquisitely in the lights, dissolved once more, and left the Indians on the scene, paddling over the lily-strewn water in canoes, dragging their skin tents, setting them up, kindling their fires, holding their council—a perfect ever-changing though silent picture. Then came the settlers, with spinning-wheel and ax and gun. Council, trade, and peace followed, and the symbolic founding of Lexington in the wilderness.

The Green Dragon Inn, the old North Church, and Lexington Common were all shown in characteristic scenes, and the redcoats marched and fought, Paul Revere rode, and the minute-men won their classic victory.

The Battle of Lexington has been described a thousand times. The utter simplicity and homely heroism were not spoiled here, and yet there was plenty of marching and color, for the redcoats and their drums supplied that.

After the battle, War smoothed his wrinkled front, and the allegory of peace began with the Goddess of Peace, and dances on the green, and masses of reunited foes in their uniforms, and groupings of flags with the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack lifted high.

A poem of peace, written for the occasion by Stephen Stanton, was given by Pauline Allen as Peace.

The old battle scene was only to emphasize the lasting amity between redcoat and minute-man, and the two stood side by side while the olive branch waved above them.

All was colorful and lifelike, not a word spoken or heard except the marching orders and the church bells. A live photo-play effect like this is curiously eloquent and suggestive, especially with martial music and hundreds of participants; and every scene was accurately historic to the last detail.

Seats for eight thousand spectators were provided, and tremendous crowds attended the three evening performances. It is hoped that this great outdoor theater will be used for other public occasions, and for repeating, perhaps, the historic drama of Lexington itself each year.

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THE SO-CALLED "PARLIAMENT" OF RUSSIA

BY GEORGE KENNAN

INASMUCH as the future of Russia after the war may be largely dependent upon the fate, the political complexion, or the practical working of her quasi-parliamentary institutions, it may be worth while perhaps to review briefly their history, their development, and their present status. The so-called "Parliament" of Russia consists of two houses, viz., the Duma and the Council of the Empire.

THE DUMA

When it became apparent, toward the close of the Russo-Japanese War, that in order to check the revolutionary movement some concession must be made to the people, the Czar, on the 3d of March, 1905, appointed a commission, under the presidency of Minister Bulygin, to draw up a plan for a representative assembly. As soon as it became known, however, that the Duma provided for in the report of the Bulygin Commission would have power only to suggest or recommend legislation there was great popular dissatisfaction. The people wanted a representative assembly capable of initiating and enacting laws, and they were not willing to accept a Duma that would have only consultative and advisory power. The Czar's illusory concession, therefore, did not check the revolutionary movement, but rather accelerated it; and in October, 1905, under the pressure of a universal political strike which paralyzed all the Government's activities, the monarch finally capitulated and signed the so-called "Freedom Manifesto." In this document he promised, not only freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of public assembly, but also a free elective Duma which should have power to control all legislation.

The Duma election law, which was promulgated in December, 1905, gave the right of suffrage to a majority of male citizens twenty-five years of age, but it distributed the voting power, nevertheless, very unequally among the social classes into which the population was segregated. Adopting the worst features of the German system, it established electoral colleges in the various provinces, and then gave to every class a college representation that was based, not on numerical strength or on property, but partly on the assumed necessity for maintaining a balance of power between nobles and peasants, and partly on the supposed attitude of each class toward the existing Government. The landed proprietors, for example, who were generally conservatives and who were relied upon to support the Crown, sent one delegate to the electoral colleges for every 2,000 of their own number; property-owners and business men in the cities and towns were allowed one elector for every 4,000; while the agricultural peasants, who comprised nearly eighty per cent of the whole population, were given only one elector for every 30,000 of their own number. Artisans and factory operatives, who were notoriously liberal if not Socialistic in their political views, were limited to one elector for every 90,000. The vote of one landed proprietor, therefore, counted for as much as the votes of two city dwellers, fifteen peasants, or forty-five artisans. In other words, the nobles and landed proprietors, merely because they were supposed to favor the Government, had a representation in the electoral colleges that was out of all proportion to their numerical strength, or even to their wealth.

I shall not attempt here to describe the Russian electoral system in detail. It is extremely complicated and difficult of explanation, and all that I aim to do is to show its most important and characteristic features. These are the segregation of the voting population into classes, the establishment of electoral colleges, and the apportionment of representation among the classes very unequally, both in the colleges and in the Duma. The peasants, who make up the largest class, do not vote directly even for their provincial electors. They choose delegates to a local "electoral union;" the union, in turn, elects delegates to a district "peasants' assembly;" the assembly ballots for electors in the provincial colleges; and the colleges finally choose the members of the Duma. The peasants' vote is thus sifted three times, and at every successive stage of the procedure there is an opportunity for bureaucratic manipulation.

By means of this artificial and highly complicated system of electoral colleges, combined with unequal class voting, the Government hoped to get a Duma that would be manageable, if not completely subservient; but it was greatly disappointed. The peasants, in spite of their fifteen-to-one handicap, elected

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216 members of the First Duma, while the nobles and landed proprietors were able to elect only 164. The nation, moreover, was so nearly unanimous in its opposition to bureaucratic rule that the various liberal parties in the First Duma had a clear majority of 432. The Government, in fact, was represented by only sixteen members, and of these only seven could be regarded as uncompromising Monarchists.

The Czar, of course, could not tolerate a popular assembly that was so overwhelmingly liberal in its political complexion. He therefore dissolved the First Duma on a question of agrarian reform, and ordered the election of a second, under the same law. This proved to be even more liberal than the First, and after a stormy session of one hundred and two days it too was dissolved, upon the alleged ground that thirty-seven of its members were implicated in a revolutionary conspiracy.

Seeing that it could not possibly get a subservient Duma under the existing election law, the Government, in direct and shameless violation of the Constitution, promulgated by ukase a new law, under which the representation of the peasants in the electoral colleges was reduced eighteen per cent, while that of the landed proprietors was increased seventeen per cent. At the same time the number of representatives from Poland, Siberia, and the Caucasus was reduced from 109 to 39, merely because the liberal parties in those parts of the Empire were known to have an overwhelming majority. Under this law, which is still in force, the vote of one landed proprietor counts for as much as the votes of 68 townsmen, 260 peasants, or 563 factory operatives. Two and a half million nobles, priests, and landed proprietors elect 294 members of the Duma, while more than eighty million peasants elect only 77.[1]

Of course a Duma in which two per cent of the population have more power than the remaining ninety-eight per cent cannot be regarded as a national representative assembly in any proper sense of the words. It is more like an assembly of nobles, landed proprietors, and priests. Fortunately, however, even these classes are not unanimous in support of the Government, and there is a large liberal representation from the cities and towns. In the present Duma, therefore, the parties of the Left (Constitutional Democrats, Social Democrats, Progressives, and Group of Toil) have 130 seats, while the parties of the Right (Monarchists, Nationalists, and Reactionists) have only 178. The balance of power is held by the Octobrists (Moderate Conservatives of the Center), who number about one hundred. They have hitherto voted, as a rule, with the Government; but many of them have liberal views, and all profess adherence to the principles set forth in the October manifesto from which they take their name (the so-called "Freedom Manifesto" of October 30, 1905).

It is a remarkable and significant fact that the Government, with all the advantages given to it by a grossly unfair election law of its own contrivance, has been able to get only 178 uncompromising supporters in the Fourth Duma out of a total membership of 439.[1] It shows how nearly unanimous the nation is in its opposition to autocratic and bureaucratic rule.

If the Russian Duma differs from other legislative assemblies in misrepresentative character, it differs still more in powers and methods of procedure. A few days before the meeting of the First Duma the Czar promulgated by ukase a series of so-called "fundamental laws," which greatly restricted the competence of the Duma, and wholly withdrew from its jurisdiction all questions relating to the institutions of the Imperial Court, the Imperial family, the War and Navy Departments, the declaration of martial law, and the control of the Cossacks. The consideration of the annual Budget was nominally left to the Duma, but about forty per cent of the appropriations were "protected" in such a way that the representatives of the people could not control them, and the withholding of funds in the case of the remaining sixty per cent was prevented by means of a provision that in case the Duma should disapprove the Budget, in whole or in part, the appropriations for the previous year should automatically continue. In May of last year, for example, the Duma for the first time in its history rejected the whole Budget by a majority of seventy; but the Government was not left without funds, because under the fundamental laws it had a right to spend as much as had been spent in 1913. It could not increase the previous year's appropriations, but the Duma, on the other hand, could not reduce them. The power of the purse, therefore, remains practically in the hands of the Czar and the Ministry. Commenting on this feature of the

[1] Petrograd "Reitch," May 5, 1913.

[1] My figures are for 1914, but there has been little change since then. See Petrograd "Reitch," February 8, 1914.

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fundamental laws, and the "Rules of Duma Procedure" based thereupon, Pierre Chasles, the eminent French economist, says:

"If we give any study to the limitations created by the rules of March 8, 1906, we discover that the power of Parliament over the Budget is reduced almost to zero. The exceptions destroy the rule, and autocracy takes back with one hand all that it has given with the other. We doubt whether, in all the countries of the world, there ever existed a parliament whose financial rights were so restricted."[1]

In other fields of legislation the competence of the Duma is restricted by a provision (Section 87 of the fundamental laws) which gives the Czar power to legislate independently when the Parliament is not in session. He must submit his fiat laws to the Duma for approval, it is true, within a period of two months; but until the expiration of that time limit they are in force, and when the Duma comes to a consideration of them the matters to which they relate are practically settled. This was the case when the Agrarian Settlement Act (the law breaking up the peasant communes and establishing separate farms) was promulgated by ukase in 1906. Before this measure was laid before Parliament for consideration the whole machinery of the reform was in operation, and tens of thousands of peasants had acquired vested rights under the new law. It was too late then to upset it, even if the Duma had regarded it with disapproval. It was already a *fait accompli*.

But the Czar may legislate by ukase even when the Parliament *is* in session. If he finds himself unable to get a bill through the Duma or the Council of the Empire by means of votes, all that he has to do is to suspend the session—even for as short a period as three days—and enact the law by ukase in the interim. This was done in the case of the Western Provinces Zemstvo Bill in March, 1911. Finding that the opposition to the measure was too strong to be overcome in any other way, the monarch prorogued Parliament for three days, and then, upon the pretense that the two houses were not in session, he enacted the law by ukase. All of the really important legislation in Russia since 1906, including the Field Courts Martial Law, the Western Provinces Zemstvo Law, and the Agrarian Settlement Law, were enacted by ukase, either when Parliament really was not in session or when, by an Imperial fiction, it was supposed not to be in session.

But even these are not all of the restrictions and disabilities imposed by the fundamental laws upon the people's representatives. With us in the United States, any member of Congress is at liberty to introduce a bill upon his own personal initiative; but in the Russian Duma every bill must have thirty signatures before it can even be offered. It must then be referred to the particular Ministry within whose jurisdiction its subject-matter comes, and the Minister is authorized to substitute for it another bill, covering perhaps the same ground, but in a different way. This substitute bill is the one that the Duma must act upon, and the member can push his own bill only in case the Government declines to draft a substitute. This rule enables the Government to delay legislation upon any subject almost indefinitely, and, apart from that, forces the Duma to act, not on its own bills, but upon bills prepared for it by the various ministries.

In view of these limitations, it is not a matter for surprise that in the first two sessions of the Third Duma not a single bill introduced by a member was passed, while of the 695 bills introduced or framed by the Government 509 were passed. In the third session two members' bills were acted upon, but neither of them had any importance. The Constitutional Democrats in the first three Dumas drew up bills providing for (1) equality of all citizens before the law; (2) immunity from arrest without due legal process; (3) freedom of assembly, association, and speech; (4) enlargement of the Duma's control over the Budget; (5) reform of local self-government; and (6) land reform. None of these measures, however, was adopted, and most of them never were reported from the committees to which they were referred.

So far as initiative is concerned, the record of the Fourth Duma is somewhat better than that of its predecessors; but even now all bills of first-class importance are enacted by ukase, or, at least, framed and introduced by the Government. Since the war began the Duma has been in session only three or four days, and the Czar has legislated, under the provisions of Section 87 of the fundamental laws, with a free hand.

[1] "Le Parlement Russe," by Pierre Chasles, p. 179. Paris, 1910.

In an article to be printed in a succeeding issue, Mr. Kennan will describe the Council of the Empire

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PAUVRETTE

BY EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON

No longer torn by what she knows
And sees within the eyes of others,
Her doubts are when the daylight goes,
Her fears are for the few she bothers.
She tells them it is wholly wrong
Of her to stay alive so long;
And when she smiles her forehead shows
A crinkle that had been her mother's.

Beneath her beauty, blanched with pain,
And wistful yet for being cheated,
A child would seem to ask again
A question many times repeated;
But no rebellion has betrayed
Her wonder at what she has paid
For memories that have no stain,
For triumph born to be defeated.

To those who come for what she was—
The few left who know where to find her—
She clings, for they are all she has;
And she may smile when they remind her,
As heretofore, of what they know
Of roses that are still to blow
By ways where not so much as grass
Remains of what she sees behind her.

They stay a while, and having done
What penance or the past requires,
They go, and leave her there alone
To count her chimneys and her spires.
Her lip shakes when they go away,
And yet she would not have them stay;
She knows as well as any one
That Pity, having played, soon tires.

But one friend always reappears,
A good ghost, not to be forsaken;
Whereat she laughs and has no fears
Of what a ghost may reawaken,—
But welcomes, while she wears and mends
The poor relation's odds and ends,
Her truant from a tomb of years—
Her power of youth so early taken.

Poor laugh, more slender than her song
It seems; and there are none to hear it
With even the stopped ears of the strong
For breaking heart or broken spirit.
The friends who clamored for her place,
And would have scratched her for her face,
Have lost her laughter for so long
That none would care enough to fear it.

None live who need fear anything
From her, whose losses are their pleasure;

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The plover with a wounded wing
Stays not the flight that others measure,
So there she waits, and while she lives,
And death forgets, and faith forgives,
Her memories go foraging
For bits of childhood song they treasure.

And like a giant harp that hums
On always, and is always blending
The coming of what never comes
With what has past and had an ending,
The City trembles, throbs, and pounds
Outside, and through a thousand sounds
The small intolerable drums
Of Time are like slow drops descending.

Bereft enough to shame a sage
And given little to long sighing,
With no elixir to assuage
The lonely changelessness of dying,—
Unsought, unthought-of, and unheard,
She sings and watches like a bird
Safe in a comfortable cage
From which there will be no more flying.

IS MODERATE DRINKING JUSTIFIED?

THE ANSWER OF LIFE INSURANCE

BY SAMUEL WILSON

IN the year 1840, Robert Warner, a member of the Society of Friends and a total abstainer from intoxicating liquors, applied to an English life insurance company for a policy. The directors made a condition for granting the policy that he pay ten per cent more than the ordinary premium because, as they viewed his case, he was "thin and watery and mentally cranked in that he repudiated the good things of God as found in alcoholic drinks."

On December 10, 1914, at a convention of presidents of American life insurance companies held in the city of New York, Mr. Arthur Hunter, Chairman of the Central Bureau of the Medico-Actuarial Mortality Investigation, representing forty-three companies and covering the records of over two million policy-holders, reported on results of a very searching investigation, and classed liquor dealers among the most hazardous risks, and even very moderate drinkers as decidedly unsafe, exhibiting a higher mortality than total abstainers.

The seventy-four years that have intervened between these two incidents have witnessed a complete revolution in sentiment on the alcohol question, based upon ethical, scientific, sociological, and economic investigation and experience. As a result we find arrayed against alcohol as a beverage the Church, social workers, educators, scientists, and statesmen, with "big business" as a recent recruit.

The attitude of life insurance to alcohol is especially significant because there is no phase of business that is so scientifically accurate and mathematically demonstrable. Life insurance might have been born in Missouri, for its motto is, "Show me." It turns its prospective policy-holder inside out and outside in. It examines his heart, lungs, liver, kidneys, stomach, bowels, nerves, and brain. It asks impudent questions about pedigree, history, and habits; and when the examiners get through with their examinee they know more about him than does his own mother, or his father-confessor. Then they either throw him into the discard or classify

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him and make their wagers on their estimate of him as a life risk.

ATTITUDE OF AMERICAN COMPANIES

I have recently interrogated forty life insurance companies as to their attitude toward insuring liquor dealers and liquor drinkers, and from their replies I gather that every reputable company either refuses entirely to insure liquor dealers or treats them as a hazardous class and imposes extra premiums and limitations.

The actuary of one very prominent Eastern company writes:

"Retail dealers are excluded.

"Wholesale dealers limited to favorable cases.

"Employees in distilleries are excluded.

"Grocers having bars are excluded.

"Saloon-keepers and bartenders are excluded.

"Restaurant-keepers who sell liquor are not desirable. Special cases only are considered.

"Traveling salesmen for liquor houses are excluded."

A Philadelphia company answers: "We do not accept any liquor retailers, and only a limited number of those who are brewers or wholesale dealers," and, "We prefer total abstainers to those who imbibe even moderately."

A Canadian company answers: "The practice of this company is to require an extra premium wherever an applicant is engaged in the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors. The extra, as a rule, is $10 per $1,000 insurance."

"We do not write saloon-keepers, bartenders, or proprietors of hotels where the bar is a prominent feature of the hotel business; brewers or liquor salesmen, except that we sometimes write wholesale liquor dealers who do not themselves drink or have direct charge of the stock," is the reply from a prominent company in the Middle West located in a city in which brewers and saloon-keepers are a great political power. This same actuary says: "This company has from time to time investigated the mortality upon this class as compared with those whom we regard as abstainers, and the result of each investigation indicates that the mortality is heavier among drinkers than non-drinkers."

A Southern company answers: "This company does not insure the lives of persons engaged in the sale or manufacture of intoxicating liquors."

A Pacific company stands by the Medico-Actuarial Commission quoted above.

The answer is practically the same from New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, California, and Canada—liquor dealers and liquor drinkers are undesirable citizens from the view-point of life insurance.

Following the reports of the recent Medico-Actuarial Mortality Investigation, certain occupations that are classed as hazardous will be insured only after advancing the age and charging premium rates for the advanced age, and then only for ten, fifteen, or twenty year endowment terms. The New York Life Insurance Company prints tables of hazardous occupations showing the number of years age advance required for acceptable risks:

LIQUOR DEALERS EXTRA-HAZARDOUS RISKS

Eight years' advance in years, limited to ten, fifteen, and twenty year endowments:

Army officers	Brewery salesmen and mechanics
Cranesmen on railways	Distillery salesmen and collectors
Electric linemen	Wholesale liquor collectors
Veterinarians	
Beer bottlers	

Twelve years' advance in years, limited to ten, fifteen, and twenty year endowments:

Soldiers	Deep-sea fishermen
Employees in cartridge factories	Saloon-keepers
	Bartenders
Conductors and firemen on railway passenger trains	Brewery laborers
	Saloon porters
Stokers on ocean liners	Brewery drivers

There can be only one legitimate reason for considering that saloon-keepers and bartenders have as dangerous occupations as soldiers, railway firemen, or stokers on ocean liners, and that is the temptation to drink.

For like reasons the man who frequently crooks his elbow in front of a bar becomes *persona non grata* to the insurance company equally with the man behind the bar.

In the report above referred to by Mr. Arthur Hunter, giving the result of a searching analysis of records, he says:

"Among the men who admitted they had taken alcohol occasionally to excess in the past, but whose habits were considered satisfactory when they were insured, there were two hundred and eighty-nine deaths, while there would have been only one hundred and ninety deaths had this group been made up of insured lives in general. The extra mortality was therefore fifty per cent, which was

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equivalent to a reduction in the average life of these men of four years.

"If this meant that four years would be cut off the end of the average normal lifetime of each man, there are many who would consider that 'the game was worth the candle;' but it means that in each year a number of men will die at an earlier age than they should. For example, at age thirty-five, the expectation of life is thirty-two years; in the first year after that age, instead of, say, nine persons dying, there would probably be twelve deaths—that is, three men would each lose thirty-two years of life; in the next year probably four men would each lose thirty-one years of life, etc.

"As a matter of fact, many immoderate drinkers would live longer than thirty-two years, but not nearly so many as would live if they had been moderate drinkers, and far fewer than if they had been total abstainers from alcohol.

"With regard to men who had used alcoholic beverages daily, but not to excess, the experience of the companies was divided into two groups: (*a*) men who took two glasses of beer, or a glass of whisky, or their equivalent, a day; (*b*) men who took more than the foregoing amount, but were not considered by the companies to drink to excess. The mortality in the second group was fully fifty per cent greater than in the first—an excellent argument for moderation in the use of alcoholic beverages."

ALCOHOL REDUCES LONGEVITY

It will be noticed that this comparison is not between total abstainers and moderate drinkers, but between two classes of drinkers, both of whom would be classed as "moderate," and who were acceptable insurance risks; yet for the extra indulgence of a few glasses of beer or whisky the heavier drinkers on an average exchange four years of life.

The Medico-Actuarial Mortality Investigation, which is accepted as authoritative, reports results in a variety of classes where there had been a history of one or two drinking excesses prior to the application. The results were as follows:

Where the excesses were within two years of the application the mortality was one hundred and seventy-four per cent of the expected; between two and five years the mortality was one hundred and forty-eight per cent; between five and ten years, one hundred and fifty per cent; more than ten years, one hundred and thirty-nine per cent; clearly demonstrating that the drinker is an undesirable risk and a great burden to be carried by temperate policy-holders.

Commenting on this report, one actuary writes:

"Another class was created for the purpose of investigation of those who were steady and free users of alcohol. Of course, in the consideration of a class of this kind—made up as it was of the experience of a number of life companies—the interpretation of the term 'steady and free user' varies according as the judgment of those who had the selection of risks in charge gave rise to a conservative or liberal interpretation.

"This group was subdivided into two classes: one consisting of those who considered that two or more glasses of beer or one glass of whisky or their equivalent per day constituted a 'steady and free user;' while into the other group were placed risks reported by companies whose interpretation of the term 'steady and free user' meant two ounces of alcohol per day.

"In the latter group the death rate from cirrhosis of the liver was five times the normal death rate, while from diabetes, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and suicide the death rate was twice the normal death rate."

Interpreting this experience, two ounces of alcohol would represent two pints (four glasses) of beer, or four ordinary drams of whisky.

EXPERIENCE OF BRITISH COMPANIES

For authoritative records of comparison between total abstainers and moderate drinkers we go to British and Canadian companies.

Robert Warner, the Quaker gentleman mentioned in the opening paragraph of this paper, refused to accept the dictum of the company that made total abstinence a handicap, and founded what is known as the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution to insure the lives of total abstainers. Warner took the first policy, and, notwithstanding the doubts expressed by the directors of the company that refused his application of any possible longevity for one with unalcoholized blood and tissues, he lived to the ripe age of eighty-two.

In 1848 the company extended its field so as to cover very moderate drinkers, who were carried in a separate class, and very full statistics have been kept of the two departments.

Roderick Mackenzie Moore, Actuary of the company, read an epoch-making paper before

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the Institute of Actuaries on November 30, 1903, of deepest interest to everybody interested in social problems. Joel G. Van Cise, Actuary of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, in a paper read before the Actuarial Society of America, October 20, 1904, summarized the results of the two departments as reported by Mr. Moore as follows:

The figures given in the experience include the entire experience of the office to the end of the year 1901, thus covering over sixty years in the case of abstainers and over fifty years in the case of non-abstainers. . . .

There are two important points to be noted:

1. That there has been no marked difference in the number of policies in force in the two sections.

2. The average amount of the policies in each section has been about the same, so that the comparison of the experience would seem to be as fair a one as could possibly be made.

With this explanation, I will now give the figures on male lives—non-abstainers, whole-life policies, "transfers to" excluded:

Total number of years of exposure to risk, all ages	466,943
Expected deaths by O^m table	8,911
Actual deaths	8,947
Per cent of actual to expected	100.4

Male lives—abstainers, whole-life policies, "transfers to" excluded:

Total number of years of exposure to risk	398,010
Expected deaths by O^m table	6,899
Actual deaths	5,124
Per cent of actual to expected	74.3

The difference between the percentages of actual to expected deaths as between abstainers and non-abstainers is therefore 26.1 per cent, and the rate of death among non-abstainers was 35 per cent higher than on the lives of abstainers.

An instructive comparison in Mr. Moore's reports is that of mortality at various ages as given below:

	Number of Deaths.		Excess Deaths among Moderate Drinkers.	
Ages.	Total Abstainers.	Moderate Drinkers.	Number.	Per Cent.
20–30	4,221	4,677	456	11
30–40	4,201	7,041	2,840	68
40–50	6,246	10,861	4,615	74
50–60	13,056	18,524	5,468	42
60–70	29,078	34,568	5,490	19

The reader will note the very heavy mortality among moderate drinkers in the prime of life.

Other companies having abstainers' sections report like experience. The report of the Abstainers' and General Insurance Company of Birmingham, England, covering twenty-seven years (1884–1910), shows in the abstainers' section only 629 deaths out of a total of 1,451.9 "expected" deaths under the Table of the Institute of Actuaries, a percentage of 43.3.

The Sceptre Life Association's experience for twenty-seven years (1884–1910) shows in the abstainers' section 1,214 deaths out of 2.311 "expected," a percentage of 52.53.

The Scottish Temperance Life Company for twenty-seven years (1883–1907) reports 348 actual claims out of 542 "expected," a percentage of .64. The Manufacturers' Life Insurance Company of Canada reports for eight years (1902–10) abstainers' average of expected mortality 36.90 per cent, general average 65.75 per cent.

ABSTAINERS CARRY BURDEN OF DRINKERS

The general uniformity of experience justifies the conclusion that the moderate drinker sacrifices from ten to thirteen years of life on an average in exchange for his occasional glass of beer, cocktail, or highball. Of course the deteriorating effect of alcohol upon the bodies of the insured is not the only cause of reduced longevity. The total abstainers as a class lead quieter and more wholesome lives than do drinkers as a class. Drinking men who visit saloons are liable to be led into other excesses and to form habits and associations that sap vitality; whereas non-drinkers as a class find their pleasures in the home, the simple life, the church, and companionships of quiet habits and tastes—all tending to longevity.

Commenting on the two classes of risks, the Secretary of the Manufacturers' Life Insurance Company of Canada writes: "We look on the business in the Abstainers' Section as the best business on the company's books. About half the business in Canada of this company is on the lives of abstainers. Another very favorable feature is that the lapses in the Abstainers' Section are much smaller—in fact, are only one-half of the lapses in the General Section."

The time has come for our American life insurance companies to give to the non-users of alcohol the reduced rates or increased dividends to which they are entitled. The companies protect themselves by refusing entirely risks on the lives of liquor dealers or by adding from eight to twelve years to the age of each applicant, and then carrying their risks for only very short periods at very high rates.

They take chances with drinking men, well knowing the hazard, but make up any possible losses from these extra-hazardous risks

(Continued on page following illustrations)

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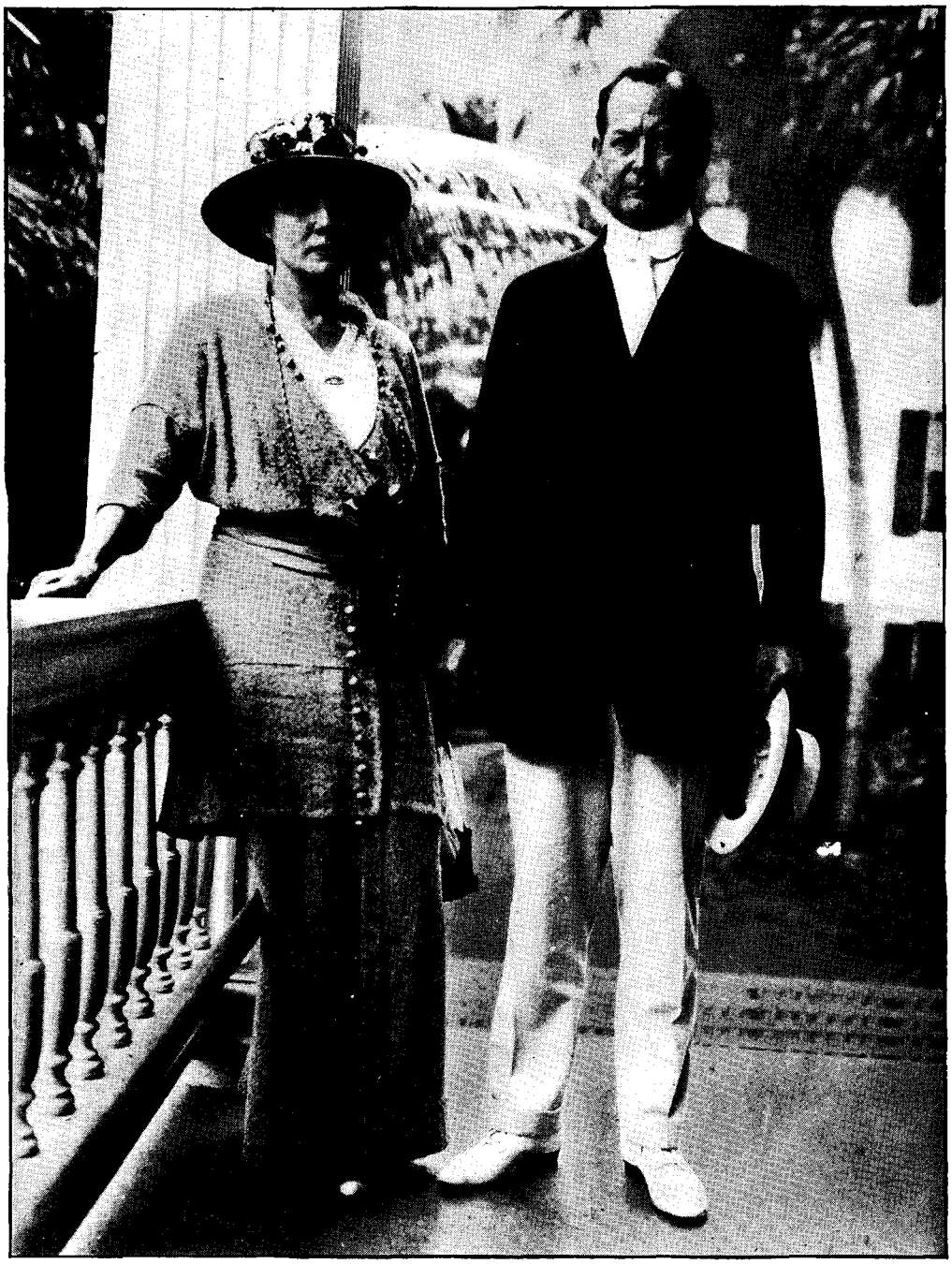
Current Events Pictorially Treated



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GOVERNOR SLATON, OF GEORGIA, AND HIS WIFE

The courageous action of Governor Slaton in commuting the death sentence of Leo M. Frank because of doubts as to his guilt—doubts shared, it may be said, throughout the Nation as well as among Georgia's best citizens—led to outbreaks of lawlessness in Governor Slaton's own State and to an attack by a mob on the Governor's home. The real reason for doubting the justice of the verdict in the Frank case was the presence of that same mob spirit during the trial. Editorial comment on Governor Slaton's action is to be found on another page

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COURTESY OF "LE MIROIR"

FRENCH SOLDIERS EQUIPPED FOR DEFENSE AGAINST ASPHYXIATING GAS

Modern warfare as developed by some of its most advanced participants seems to have reverted to the practices of those Dark Ages when boiling oil, melted lead, and Greek fire were employed to harass if not to torture the enemy. The French soldiers, according to the Paris paper in which the above picture appears, have been obliged to defend themselves against "burning tar, corrosive liquids, and suffocating gases." The blouses and protective helmets used by these soldiers, it adds, are of a color skillfully designed to mingle with that of the earth in the trenches

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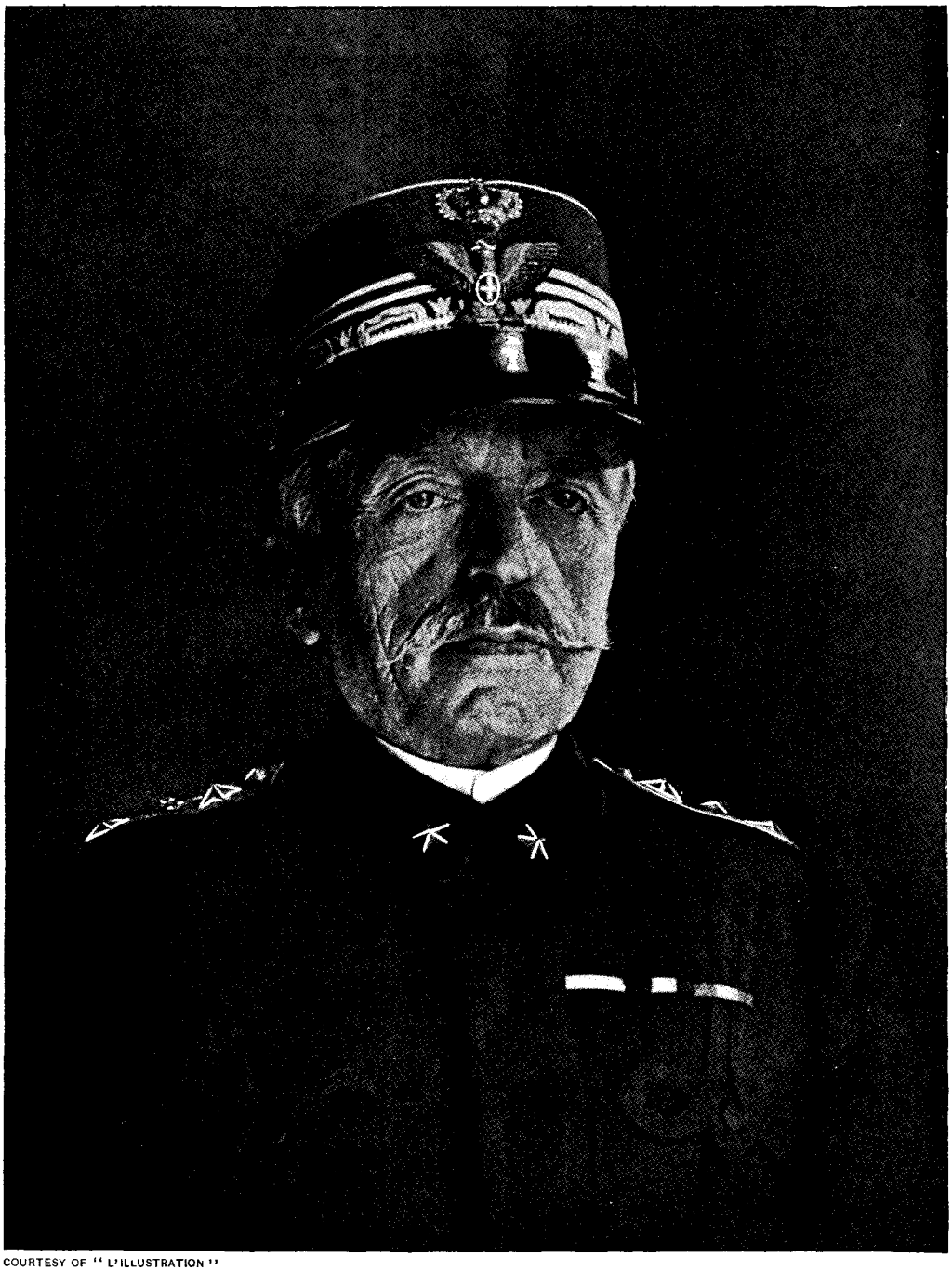

COURTESY OF "L'ILLUSTRATION"

"THE JOFFRE OF ITALY, GENERAL CADORNA"

The high expectations of the French with regard to the Italian forces, as well as their confidence in their own military leader, are indicated in the above caption, which is quoted from the French weekly "L'Illustration." The photograph, it is stated, was taken just before General Cadorna's departure for the front. General Cadorna is Chief of the General Staff of the Italian army, and is in command of the operations against Austria

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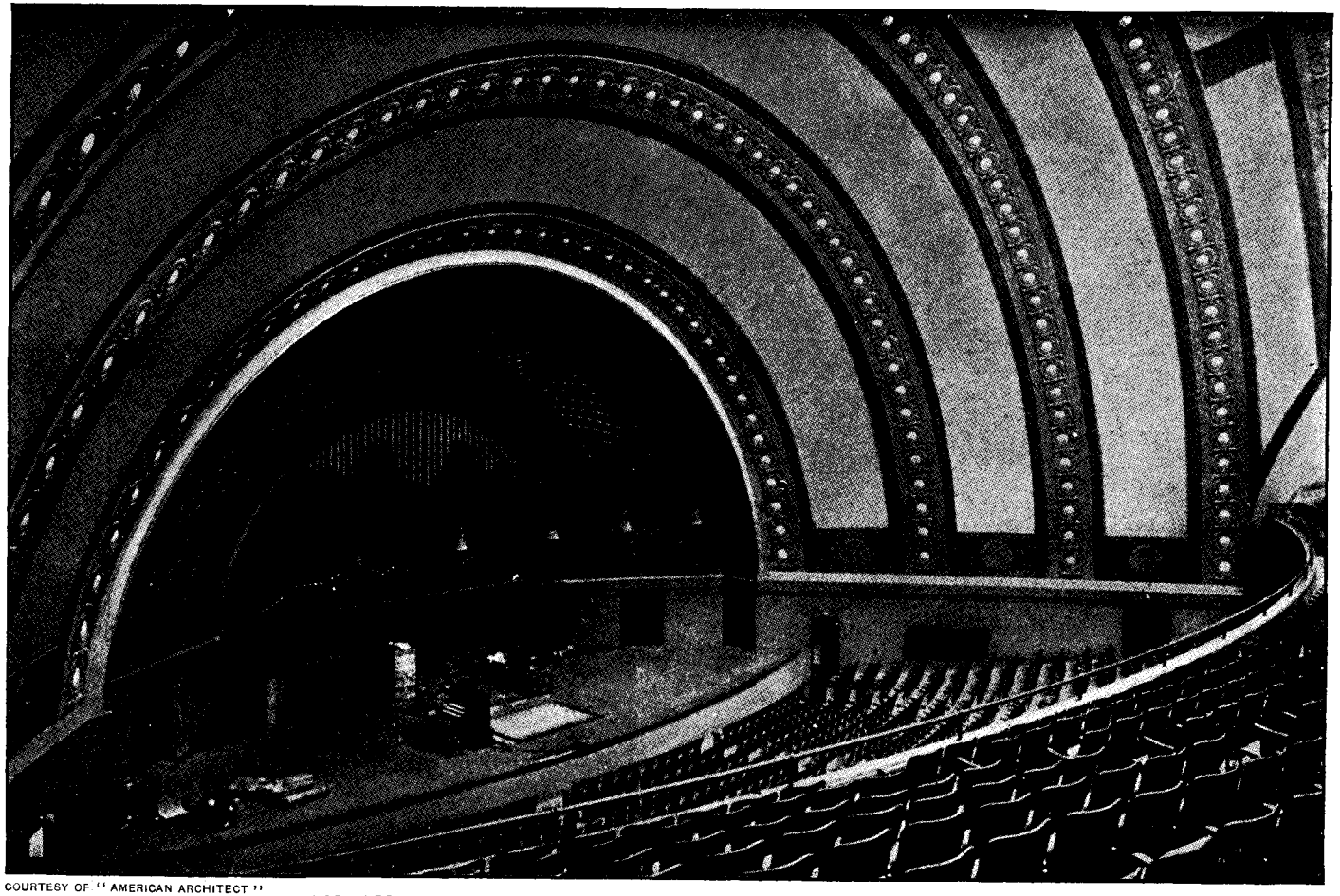

COURTESY OF "AMERICAN ARCHITECT"

AN AUDITORIUM THAT IS "ACOUSTICALLY PERFECT"

In this auditorium of the University of Michigan, known as the Hill Memorial Hall, are held the Commencement exercises. It is described as "one of the finest music halls in the world." It is paraboloid in form, with the stage at the focus. It has a seating capacity of 5,000, is thoroughly fireproof, and cost $300,000. The architect was Mr. Albert Kahn, in association with Mr. Ernest Wilby. For the remarkable acoustics of this hall credit is due to the scientific plans of Professor Sabine, of Harvard

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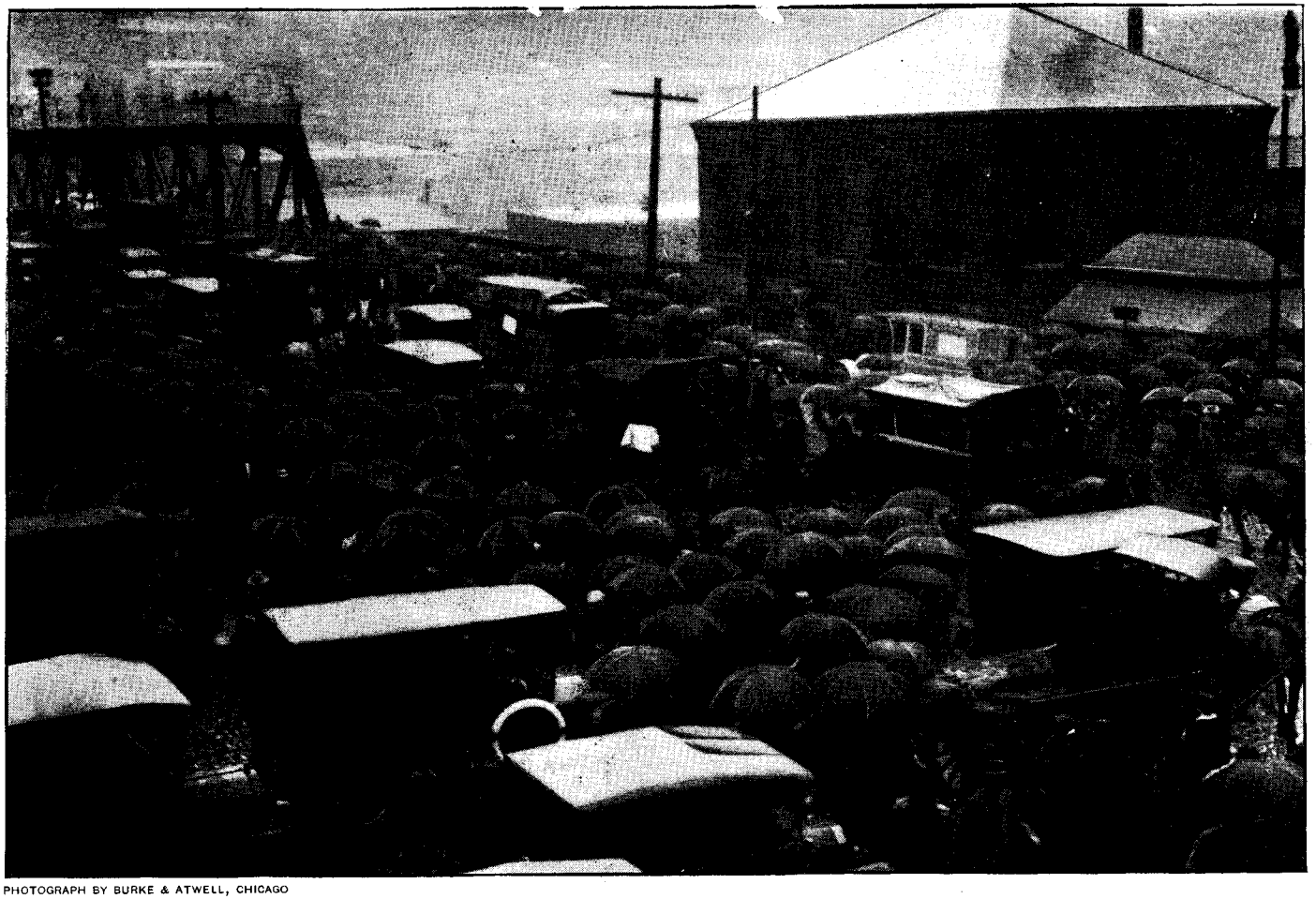

PHOTOGRAPH BY BURKE & ATWELL, CHICAGO

HOMEWARD-BOUND CHICAGOANS HELD UP BY THE STRIKE

The need of some better method of adjusting disputes between public service corporations and their employees than the "strike" is effectively brought out in the above picture of the congestion caused by the stoppage of local transportation in Chicago recently. The photograph shows the crowd at the West Madison Street Bridge on the first day of the strike. The public was thus inconvenienced and delayed for two days before the difficulty was adjusted by an agreement according to which Mayor Thompson was accepted by both sides as a third member of the Board of Arbitration to which the demands of the strikers should be submitted

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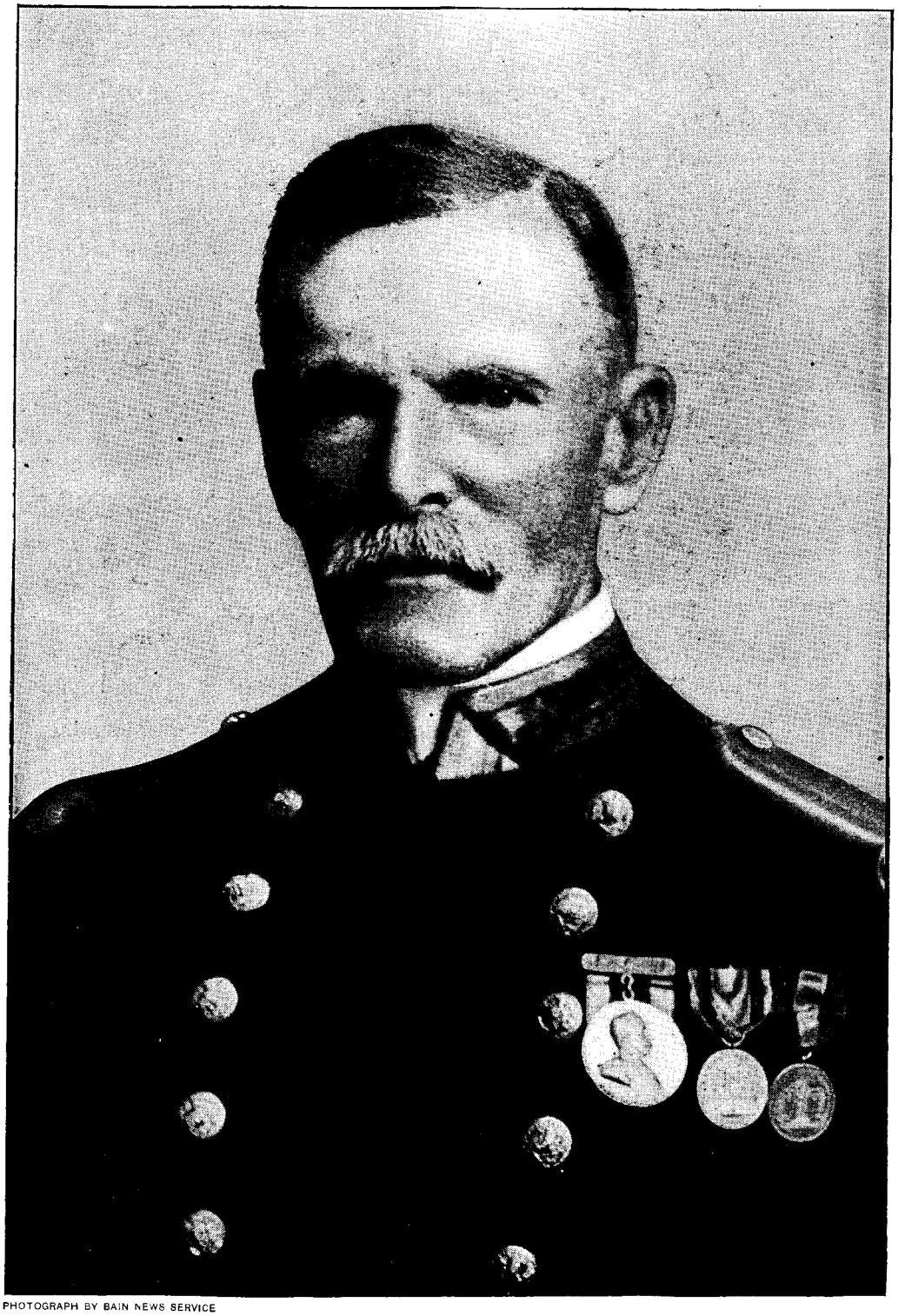

PHOTOGRAPH BY BAIN NEWS SERVICE

THE COMMANDER OF THE COLORADO, WHICH HAS TAKEN AN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO MEXICO

Admiral Thomas B. Howard, whose portrait appears above, has taken an expeditionary force of 300 men, under charge of Major McKelvy, from San Diego to Mexico, to assist in restoring order in the Yaqui Valley, Sonora. The Chattanooga and the Raleigh have, it is reported, been ordered to join the expedition

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PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

EX-PRESIDENT TAFT AND VICTOR BERGER AT THE MEETING OF THE "LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE"

This meeting was held recently in Philadelphia. The resolutions presented to the conference and adopted were printed in last week's Outlook. They constituted, not a plan to end the present war, but a suggestion for a future method of settling international disputes. Mr. Berger (at the left of the picture) is the Socialist leader from Milwaukee who was in the Sixty-second Congress—the only Socialist Representative in that body. That such a radical as he should be a participant in a gathering over which so pronounced a conservative as Mr. Taft presided indicates how extremes meet in the desire to find some means by which peace can be enforced

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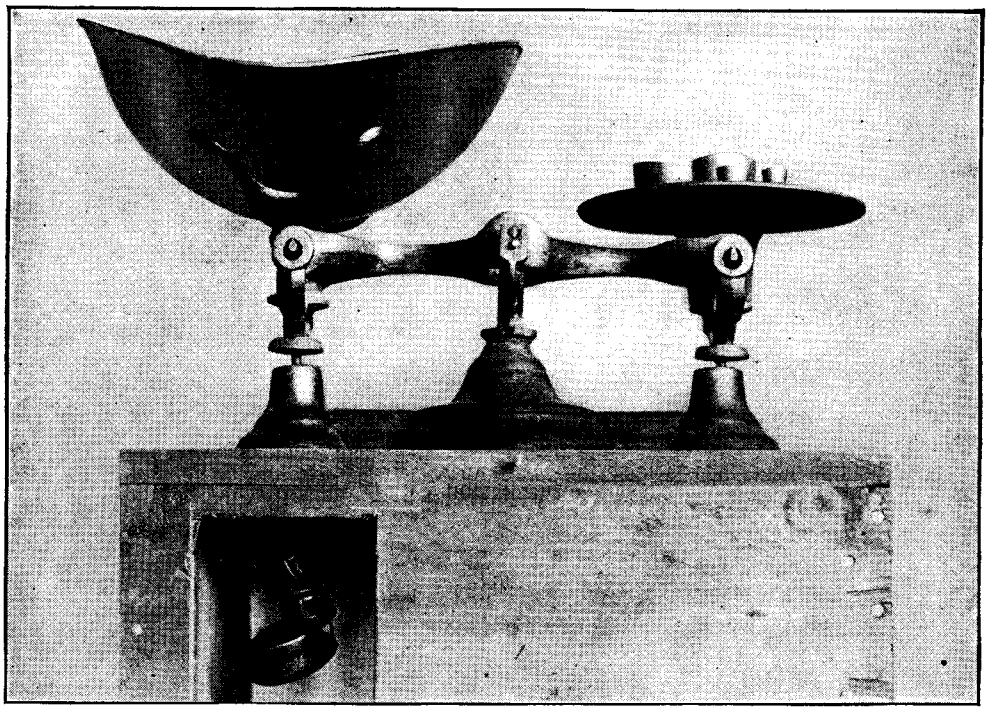

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

A CONTRIVANCE USED BY A VEGETABLE PEDDLER TO CHEAT THE PURCHASER OF 12¾ OUNCES ON EACH SALE

PHOTOGRAPH BY MEDEM PHOTO SERVICE

THE FALSE BOTTOM IN THE POTATO BASKET CHEATS THE PURCHASER OF HALF HIS DUE, THAT IN THE MILK CAN ROBS HIM OF TWO GALLONS OF MILK IN EVERY FIVE

A CRUSADE AGAINST FALSE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN NEW YORK CITY AND SOME OF ITS SPOILS

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by laying the burdens upon their abstemious neighbors who pay the same rates, and are classed with risks having an average death rate 35 per cent higher. This is rank injustice, and total abstainers as a class ought to be given consideration, and they should protest vigorously, and demand to be grouped in a class by themselves, and not required to pay the life insurance premiums of their bibulous neighbors.

Life insurance companies will learn by investigation that persons who have not contracted the alcohol habit before they are twenty-four years of age may be safely classed as total abstainers on principle, and for life; and by making provisions in their policies for annual investigations as to changed habits with increased rates for those who contract the alcohol habit they will be well protected, and will encourage thrift and sobriety.

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A LAYMAN'S LETTER

To the Protestant Clergymen of America:

Our Protestant churches have not in numerical strength, in power, or in their grasp upon the masses kept pace with the development of our country.

Why?

Although no simple formula will fully answer a question of such complexity, may I suggest that each clergyman whose eyes may fall upon these lines ask himself:

Am I partly responsible?

Am I in my pastoral conduct consciously or unconsciously abdicating the authority and right of leadership that, as one of God's ministers, I ought to assert?

Am I dwelling adequately upon the horrors of sin and its inevitable punishment?

Am I basing my sermons to such an extent upon the wonderful story of God's love that I am omitting to make my hearers clearly realize that he is likewise a God of righteousness?

Am I depicting a being moved only by the spirit of affection and compassion, whose sole function is forgiveness, or am I showing forth a just God who has ordained that his universe shall be one of law and not of caprice, who knows how to castigate as well as to reward, and who has decreed that he who soweth the wind shall reap the whirlwind?

I believe that our churches no longer adequately impress upon men's souls the nature and the awful and inevitable results of sin; that a prevailing mental impression has been created that pardon, and not punishment, is certain; that our pastors, as the result of a progressive renunciation of their proper authority, have too frequently ceased to be leaders and masters of men; and that there has thus been caused a wide dissemination of

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the conception of a spineless Deity, represented often by an inefficient Church, itself a feeble instrument for individual regeneration.

Has not the time come to change these things, to deepen the note of authority in our preaching, to emphasize the absolute necessity of the performance of duty to man, Church, and God as unavoidable essentials to salvation; to recognize that all men cannot be kept in the path of righteousness by the appeal of love alone, and that fear cannot yet be safely dispensed with as an essential motive to right living?

These changes will, I believe, be welcome. The world is ever looking for leaders asserting and able to exercise authority in law, in medicine, and in religion.

Men may talk of independence, they may declaim against priestly domination, but they will throng to hear the minister who does not argue, but *tells;* who does not palter with the sins of the day or with their consequences, but who denounces where denunciation is due.

Herein lies the success of Mr. Sunday's ministry. He does not plead—he commands. From him the sinner receives no impression that sin is but a pleasing vagary, easily made right with the Father; nay, he pierces to the guilt-conscious soul with the menace of hell fire. He does not rest his message upon the love of God alone; for he, the apostle of the common man, the teacher who has been the common man, who knows his soul, who understands his needs, perceives with the clearness which some others lack that men can be reached and held only by the fear of God's wrath, joined to the hope of God's salvation.

It is neither practicable nor desirable that all Protestant clergymen should attempt to imitate Mr. Sunday.

But will they not do wisely if they accept his success as evidence that now, as in the times of the Hebrew prophets and of Christ himself, men cannot be deeply moved by mere argument or appeal, but solely by the prophetic spirit of a lawgiver and a leader; and that only by the application of this lesson of the past to the preaching and problems of the future may we hope that our Protestant churches will attain to the leadership and power that should be theirs?

FREDERIC R. KELLOGG.

AFTER VASSAR, WHAT?

THE RECORD OF A COLLEGE CLASS

BY A RECENT VASSAR GRADUATE

I WAS one of two hundred and fifty to march across campus behind the Daisy Chain Beauties on Vassar Class Day. My A.B. diploma, written in Latin, was presented in due time. I went to the Alumnæ luncheon. Every one left college excepting our class. Then we had the class supper, wailed the last mournful rites under our class tree, and the end of the world was upon us!

All my life, I think, I had wanted to go to Vassar. My first letter written from college began, "Vassar at last!" And it had been more wonderful than anticipation. The classroom work, the college activities, the friends—these for four years had occupied by far the greater part of my time. Next year? To be sure, I thought of it every once in a while, but the outcome of the junior-senior basket-ball game was *so* much more important; and when one was on the senior team one's self, sleep was much more necessary than worrying over "next year." I took it for granted that I should do *something*, although I knew I could "stay at home" and my family would not complain. I felt that I had been trained to do something—but what?

Teaching seemed the line of the least resistance. Teachers' agencies sent us letters nearly every day. It would be a very simple matter to send in my name and photograph, my references, and then wait for a "job." A number of my friends had already done this, and they seemed so settled! It was then that I tried tutoring. For half a year I struggled with backward pupils in history and English. I tried to study the pupils and their own special needs, but they all seemed alike in their inability to understand. I remember

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one pupil in particular. "Get her to reason intelligently and you will achieve a triumph," my professor had said. I tried it. One evening we spent two hours outlining sections of the Magna Charta. When it was finished, I was satisfied that I had made Edna do the work. My mind was a whirlwind of pointed questioning, but I felt sure she had at last accomplished something. Next day I found a note on my door block. "Dear Josephine," it said, "going home last night I lost the outline we made. I can't remember a word of it. Will be over to-night to do it again." The thought came to me, "Suppose I should get a *class* of Ednas!"

A few weeks later a representative of the Inter-Collegiate Bureau of Occupations came to college to speak on openings for college women, aside from teaching. "The time has passed," she said, "when the college girl takes it for granted that teaching is the one opening for her should she choose to 'do something.' More and more, prominent business men, college professors, and research workers are demanding college women as secretaries." She urged us to take up typewriting and stenography, which is always an "opening wedge." Another line of work which is presenting itself to college women who like to write is that of "publicity secretaryships." I had done work on the College Press Board, so this seemed to be what I wanted. The "publicity secretary" of an organization presents the work of that organization to the public in all possible ways. I registered with the bureau, and so had my first "line" out in "next year."

Christmas vacation I took lunch with a Vassar graduate who had worked in a bureau of municipal research. My history professor had told me of possible opportunities in the bureau. The work was intensely interesting, but at the luncheon party a friend of the Vassar graduate asked me if I would consider a position to work among immigrant girls in a large city. I was to be general supervisor of the English work, should arrangements be made. This work, too, was interesting. But the whirl of senior year began once more, soon after, and semester examinations crowded the matter out of my mind until it was too late.

Easter vacation, through the kindness of a friend, I was able to have an interview with the secretary of one of our well-known and popular magazines. I asked him about the openings for a college girl in the publishing house. He said there were the same openings any one might get; what kind of a place she ultimately reached would depend upon the girl. The secretary was kind to me. I could see that he rather pitied a college girl looking for a "job."

"The trouble with your getting a good position from the start," he said, "is that you college graduates have nothing tangible to offer us business men. You've had a lot of Latin and English and history. We know that. You've had some executive training on college committees, perhaps, but *what* can you do?"

I was going to tell him I could do a great deal, when it suddenly came over me that I didn't know what I could do.

"The only way we business men can help you," he went on, "is to give you the chance we happen to have. We can't *make* one for a college girl just because she happens to be a popular girl or a good executive. When we put her in, it's up to her. But don't be discouraged by what I've said. Keep right on looking for an opening and you'll get one. The reason I said what I did is because most college graduates have the idea—whether they say so or not—that the world is waiting with open arms for them. As a matter of fact, the college graduate has to make the world know he's there before he'll get any attention paid to him."

I left my name with the secretary, who asked me to come in again when I should be ready to start work. I was glad I had had the interview. For it is a little difficult for the college senior to realize that next year she will be just one of thousands; that it is no longer a great distinction to be a college graduate. There are so many others who have done just the same thing, so many others who, in their day, were just as important in the college world.

After the Easter vacation we were plunged into the busiest stretch of all our college course. Song practices, basket-ball games, field day, plays, rehearsals for Commencement week, not to mention a little studying now and then—all these rather crowded out the thought of "next year." I did make one effort during this time, however. I wrote to the Associated Charities at home to ask about openings in that work. I had become greatly interested in economics during my junior year. After taking the necessary "Baby Ec," I elected all I could, coming at last into "Charities and Correction." The regular

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work was made all the more vital by talks from people who are actively engaged in such work. One talk, I remember, was by Mr. George, of the George Junior Republic, and another interesting talk was on "Baby Placing." I knew the shout with which my family would greet any such occupation as the latter. But it did seem to me the Associated Charities might offer an opportunity. So much was wrong with the world, and I did so want to reform it! The Associated Charities replied promptly. There was an opening for a "house visitor," and the salary would be forty-five dollars a month. Forty-five times twelve was easy. Five hundred and forty dollars a year! I decided that I was a little young for a "house visitor" (I was twenty-one). So I wrote the Associated Charities that I could not accept.

Soon after, Commencement put me "safe now in the wide, wide world," and I became at once so busy having a summer vacation that I almost forgot "next year." August was upon me before I knew it. It was then that I "got busy." I had done recreation work in a girls' camp for a number of weeks when I met a very successful business woman. She was looking for a director for the girls' club in the large business concern in which she was employed. Upon my return from camp I went over for an interview. She asked me a few pointed questions regarding my college course. I can't remember much of what was said, except that we had a very pleasant talk. She was then to see the business manager, and, if he were willing, I was to have the position. I hurried home to tell my mother. She met me on the steps with a letter and a telegram. The letter was from the Inter-Collegiate Bureau of Occupations, stating that they had an opening as publicity secretary for me. The telegram was from a cousin of my mother's who is head master of a well-known girls' school in the Middle West. He wanted me to come to his school as assistant to the dean of English.

It was necessary to hold a family council at once. If I wanted to teach this opening was ideal; but I live near New York, and the school is in just a "town." I knew there would be many requirements on my time, aside from teaching. My roommate had gone to boarding-school, so I knew. Someway I *couldn't* see myself as a chaperon; and suppose the whole class were stupid? I telegraphed my cousin that I wouldn't come.

Then I went over to interview a man in regard to the publicity secretaryship. The work was to be for a semi-charity organization, and I was to write the letters of appeal.

If this man approved of me, I was to see the president of the society (a woman), along with all the other girls applying for the same position. If *she* approved of me, I was to be the publicity secretary, hours nine to five, with Saturday afternoons "off" the year round. In talking over this position, my father and I decided that the club work was more of an opening.

Next day I went over to see the manager of the business concern. They took me through a labyrinth of offices, and there I was before a man with the kindest twinkle in his eyes.

"So you're the girl they want up there?" he said. "Seems to me you're pretty young."

I could not deny it.

"I am," I said.

"Oh, well," he went on, "if you suit them, you suit me."

We shook hands. I was "employed," and I've been there ever since. We have such fun in our club! Every lunch hour the girls come pouring into the club-house. Some are tired out and need a quiet time. There is a rest-room for them. Others are only too ready for a good time, and for them there is the recreation-room. Here we have a piano, and here the girls sing and dance and play games. There are other things going on during lunch hour, too. The older girls can attend a dressmaking class once a week, and the younger girls a cooking or a sewing class. One evening a week we have classes. French, English, cooking, swimming, first aid to the injured, millinery, art embroidery—quite a list, and our classes are popular. The work is a kind that helps the girls, and they have fun in being helped. That's the best part of it. By doing club work, by serving on committees, they help the club, but they learn just the things we learned at college when we served on committees. The girls are my friends, and we all sing together, "We'll cheer for our club." We sing it in the lunch hour, and we sing it at our parties. We sing it at our big entertainments and in our classes. Best of all, I am in a progressive concern. A person cannot work for a business house and lag behind the times. There is a big opening in business for the college girl if she'll work and make her place. Many people ask me if my college training has

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"helped" me any in my work. Without my college course I would never be doing the work which I am to-day. Yet my studies and activities there certainly did not lead me directly to girls' club work.

I had been out of college a year when I received the Class Bulletin. For it is a custom we have that every girl in the class write what she has been doing and send it to the Bulletin Committee. The Committee then has all the letters printed in a pamphlet, a copy of which is mailed to every member of the class. In this way we come to know the "after college what" of our classmates. Of course there were surprises. The ones who seemed so serious-minded and sure to do a "work" in the world were "coming out" or traveling in Europe. The ones who seemed made for the ball-room were teaching. The one who was to be our foreign missionary among (preferably) the cannibals of Africa was engaged!

By far the greatest number of us were simply "staying at home." One hundred and fourteen answered the appeal for news in this way. "I feel myself a most unworthy person," writes one girl, "to be included in a list that swells with names devoted to the pursuit of LL.B.'s, A.M.'s, and Ph.D.'s. I am afraid the single phrase 'at home'—succinct though it be—includes all of my recent activities. Yet so it has been, till I no longer hold a single theory on the revision of the tariff. No degree, no social uplift—nothing to show as an accomplishment at the end of the most strenuous year of my existence, unless it be a meager class of small boys who every Sabbath morn are versed in the tribulations of the unhappy folk of Israel." And so it is that one and all the "stay-at-homes" say that they have been living the "most strenuous year of their existence." The home duties "really crop up to be done every day." Besides these duties nearly all have found other interests. The interest many of us took in economics while in college made its permanent impression. Sixty of the "stay-at-homes" are assisting the Associated Charities, the settlements, or the Young Women's Christian Association. One girl writes: "I spend one day a week in 'social work,' which means working on an investigation of prices and qualities of certain food staples." Another says: "I have been trying to do some Y. W. C. A. work. First we taught cooking in the factories during the noon hour, letting each girl pay two cents for anything we cooked. Then we told stories to them, alternating that with playing games. The whole idea is, of course, to get the girls interested in coming to the Young Women's Christian Association and joining the Industrial Club." An "at home" in Virginia writes: "One of the most interesting things I've done this winter is to lead a little club of about eight or ten girls in the study of social conditions and social betterment in a sort of applied course in 'Charities and Correction.' We all learned something about our city that we had not known before." The girl who was our "star actor" is "helping get up an outdoor performance of a 'Midsummer-Night's Dream' for a club of domestic servants here, and I have already helped them in their production of 'The Land of Heart's Desire.'" College girls also seem to be very much in demand for "Camp-Fire Girls" groups, for sewing and cooking classes in settlements, for volunteer Associated Charities work, for Sunday-school teachers (thirty being occupied in this pursuit), and—dare I put it last?—for suffrage workers.

For of course we had among us a number who were, and are, ardent. One girl, who had eagerly started suffrage debates when in college, helped in a State suffrage campaign—speaking on street corners, making house-to-house canvasses, and even "talking with politely bored youths who much preferred golf or dancing." Some of us were doing more than work for the vote; we were actually voting. One classmate helped her father in politics, finding them "very decent" and voting "a very ladylike affair."

Even the girl in far-off Oklahoma has a new interest in life since her college history courses. "But staying at home is far from dull," she writes. "During the fall, while motoring over the State, I had a chance to visit various Indian tribes and get a more personal observation of their life and customs, all of which I carefully noted down on 'history pad.' We have here a historical society . . . eager for any, even the slightest, additional material regarding the history of this country."

And so the one hundred and fourteen report many and varied activities, as well as "many nice home days, getting acquainted with the family."

But what of the others who, like myself, definitely set out to *work*? School-teachers? Indeed, we have them. Thirty-one spent the first year out of college in this way, with

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more to follow when courses in graduate study have been completed. My friends seem to have been more fortunate than I know I should have been, for they have found many bright pupils in among the "stupid" ones. "I am very happy," writes one girl, "teaching American and English history to many youths and fair maidens. The other side of the fence, I find, is not so simple as it looked from the distance. No unprepared lessons now, believe me!"

In addition to the thirty-one actually teaching school the first year out of college there were thirty more who took advanced work, receiving the A.M. or other degrees in due time, and preparing to teach. A number of these girls were those who had received fellowships from our own College. Some tried the joys of co-education after the four years of a "female seminary." Latin, German, English, history, physics, economics—all these have claimed the attention of my friends, who have written enthusiastically about Columbia, Wisconsin, Chicago, Minnesota, and even Berlin and Munich. All have found "studying in another place" interesting and profitable. All have seemed to possess, as one girl says, "a firm determination to gather into some sort of a whole the little patches of knowledge hitherto acquired."

But, you say, one naturally expects college girls to stay at home, or teach, or do some studying. Were there not other girls in your class who, like yourself, have found openings in the business world? We have not all followed in the beaten track. From the window in my office I can see an office building where a clever girl is working on a magazine staff. This is the girl who was editor-in-chief of our College Year Book and head of the College Press Board. A few doors away another classmate is working for a fashion magazine. "I get the longer articles into shape or work over contributed articles which are not just satisfactory," she writes. Another College Press Board member is writing for the paper in her small home town. "My writing has been miscellaneous," she says, "on every kind of subject, and it has been lots of fun and experience." A Western girl writes that a magazine syndicate has consented to accept a "tale of adventure per month from me—they supply ten of the ten-cent variety of magazines." So it is we have our authoresses.

And we have our scientists. In a large city, in the laboratory of a milk company, a neat girl analyzes "samples of milk from the various dairies which supply us to determine the number of bacteria present in a certain portion of milk. . . . Many interesting questions come up for special research work. For example, we are at present trying to determine whether we can detect the typhoid germ if it is present in milk, a question which has never been settled." During her free hours, when this girl was not on the basket-ball field, she was sure to be found in the chemistry laboratory, side by side with a girl who is now in a municipal health department as an assistant in the bacteriological research laboratory. Another ardent scientist is working with the official title of "assistant in the laboratory of surgical pathology." Two others are studying for their M.D.'s, while still another is at Johns Hopkins taking a course in trained nursing. Our scientists, too, have found an opening.

The openings for secretaries, which the Bureau of Occupations told us were to be had for college women, have also been looked into by my classmates. Ten spent the first year out of college studying for work of this kind. Now that they have prepared, they seem to find no difficulty in securing positions. One is to "make headquarters at the secretary's office in the university, going out to take dictation from different professors." Another is "private secretary to one of the directors of a large publishing house—a most interesting position." The others report private secretarial positions of various kinds. So it is that we have proved ourselves able to master stenography and typewriting. Perhaps some of us will be social secretaries ere long—who knows?

But whether we have social secretaries or not, we surely have our "social workers." Many others besides myself elected the economics course, which I found so interesting and which almost enticed me into "baby placing." A classmate, however, was wholly enticed. She looks after about twenty children, visiting them in private families all over the county in which they are placed. She sees that they are properly cared for, disciplined, and happy, taking them to doctor, dentist, oculist, and hospital when needed. "Above all," she says, "it seems to me I talk teeth, teeth, teeth, to them all the livelong day, for the kiddies cannot realize the importance of their weapons for mastication."

Aside from the talks we had in economics, of which the "baby placing" lecture was

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one, our own professor from time to time told us of opportunities in "social work." A summer course in eugenics was offered at a near-by school, and four of the class departed for it. Of the four, one is now engaged to be married, the second is studying to be a nurse, the third doing special research work for a eugenics record office, and the fourth is a field-worker in eugenics for a girls' school. "This school, as you may know," she writes, "is a State institution for boys and girls who are committed by court. My work consists in looking up the family trees of the girls in our charge, taking one at a time, and then hunting up the relatives of the girl to learn as much as possible concerning her physical, mental, and moral condition, the object being to see in how far the girl is a product of heredity and in how far her environment has been to blame. I spend more than half my time traveling about the State employed in this way; the rest of my time is spent at the institution making out charts and writing up reports on my findings."

Work among girls attracted others besides this eugenics worker. Four classmates are out in an institution for the betterment of delinquent girls. "I have charge of a group of girls," writes one, "who do the hardest work on the farm. These girls have gone out all winter, except on the most extreme days. They saw the wood and deliver it to the ten cottages, take the supplies around twice a week, and shovel the paths. Now they are beginning to get the hotbeds ready, and soon will help with the plowing."

Besides these writers, scientists, secretaries, and social workers, there are a number of us who are doing "unclassified" work. One of us is working in a bank, "working the adding-machine and posting books and cards most of the time. It is very interesting, but the money side of it appeals to me most." Another has done "statistical work on express rate reports prepared for the Inter-State Commerce Commission." Still another, work which has consisted principally in "assisting in the compiling of law briefs and railway prospectuses." In fact, there seems to be nothing which a college girl won't undertake.

"But," I can hear the reader say, "are there none who have homes of their own? Why speak so much of 'doing things' when the most important work of all awaits a woman?"

And I have left this till the last. At our class supper, Commencement week, fourteen replied "guilty" to the challenge—"guilty" meaning engaged. One year from that time ten more were added to the list. Seven had been married. I have been in their homes, and am forced to admit that the college girl is a spendid housekeeper. "My history for the last eighteen months," says a newlywed, "falls naturally into three chapters: getting a trousseau, being married, preceded by the customary nuptial rites and offering, and arranging and managing a home. The last chapter is still incomplete, and will probably remain unfinished pending further investigation, research, and experience."

So it has happened that the "wide, wide world" has welcomed us and given us a place. So it is that college made us better ready to fill a place. Those of us who have returned to "stay at home" have found a new interest in life. The courses and the tutoring prepared those of us who wished it for teaching. Those who find in study the keenest enjoyment have been enabled to go on. Best of all, our contact with people who are "doing things" in the world, our knowledge gained there, of the significance of movements, lifted our eyes from the beaten track. We asked ourselves, "What am I fitted for?" We looked around and found that we were fitted to do a work. If we did not wish to teach, we saw that it was not necessary. One year of "after college what" found us happy, contented, and useful. We are glad we went to Vassar.

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WAS LINCOLN A MURDERER?

BY EDWARD R. LEWIS

The writer of this article has not attempted to comment upon the motives of the men who in good faith, proved by devotion, saw the Civil War as a conflict between State rights and Federal oppression. What he has given us is a discussion of Abraham Lincoln's attitude towards war and towards those who preferred peace to the abolition of slavery. This article is addressed to those who fail to see the connection between the liberty which we now possess and its historic background, who apparently believe that To-day can sacrifice principle without bonding To-morrow to destruction.—THE EDITORS.

AS I ride in the street cars and meet people casually I hear, time and again, such comments as these: "The war is asinine. It is wicked. It ought to be stopped at once." "We should not aid the war in any way. We should stop the shipment of arms and munitions, whose use merely prolongs this dreadful war." The opinion of these people is that war is so terrible that nothing justifies it; that he who starts or counsels war is a murderer, no less; and he who would not help stop it is an assassin. Applying this general opinion, we find a so-called Belgian actress declaring that Belgium should have given up, at least after Liège. Indeed, a number of American men and women have solemnly asked why Belgium did not allow Germany to go through in the first place. It was the safe thing to do, and it would have avoided all this misery for her people. Last week women at The Hague prayed for peace, now, on any terms. And one woman declared, the other day, that it would be wrong for us to fight, even if a conqueror should capture New York. It is better, she said, to live under a conqueror than under a headstone.

One suspects that such opinions grow in soil little enriched by knowledge of the history of human rights and democracy. Let us test this theory that war is always wicked and peace always beautiful by one case from our own history. In November, 1860, Lincoln was elected on a platform which unalterably opposed the extension of slavery in the Territories. The South took his election as an open affront. South Carolina laid plans to secede. Turmoil, unrest, anxiety, were in the air. Then came talk of compromise. For forty years the North had compromised with the South. It began with the Missouri Compromise in 1820. The climax was reached with the Compromise of 1850. After that business and social influence was turned with savageness on any one in the North who dared raise the question again. It was settled forever, and he who stirred it up once more was an enemy of his country. But there were some men so criminal as to think that peace at the expense of justice was intolerable. They would not retreat a single inch, and they would be heard. Nor was the South satisfied. She went from aggression to aggression, from squatter sovereignty to the Dred Scott decision. Then the Republican party was formed of the burning conviction to stay the march of slavery, and as soon as it won the election of 1860 on that issue came the talk of compromise again. The most famous proposal, the one which came the nearest to acceptance, was the Crittenden compromise. Its crucial provision was that slavery should be prohibited in all territory north of 36° 30′, and recognized as existing in all territory south of that line. In this crisis what did Lincoln do? He wrote to Kellogg, the Illinois member of the House Committee, as to compromise: "Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do they have us under again, all our labor is lost and sooner or later must be done over. . . . The tug has to come, and better now than later." Again he wrote, this time to a Southerner: "On the Territorial question I am inflexible. On that there is a difference between you and us, and it is the only substantial difference. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted." Again he wrote to Thurlow Weed that there could be no paltering with the Territorial question. "Filibustering for all south of us and making slave States of it would follow in spite of us. A year will not pass until we shall have to take Cuba as a condition upon which they will stay in the Union."

South Carolina seceded, and the tension

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became terrific. The Crittenden compromise was indorsed in legislative halls, conventions, and petitions. Men begged for compromise. Holmes referred to the "hunker or submissionist or whatever you choose to call the wretch who would sacrifice everything and beg the South's pardon for offending it." Seymour said the Crittenden compromise would carry New York. Greeley said it would carry the Nation. Douglas said it would have been adopted by an overwhelming vote. Business men pressed for it. Mobs assaulted anti-slavery men. Even stern Republicans weakened and prayed for compromise. In view of the fact that the Republicans, the most radical element of the voters, comprised but thirty per cent of them, it is evident from all this that the Crittenden compromise would probably have been adopted if submitted to popular vote. And, if adopted, it would probably have prevented war for a space of years.

Lincoln was still the most responsible man in the Nation. More than any other man in the North, he held the scales of peace and war in his hands. But he did not budge an inch. He wrote to Seward on February 1, 1860: "I say now, however, as I have said all the while, that on the Territorial question I am inflexible. I am for no compromise which assists or permits the extension of the institution on soil owned by the Nation. And any trick by which the Nation is to acquire territory and then allow some local authority to spread slavery over it is as obnoxious as any other. I take it that to effect some such result as this and to put us again on the high-road to a slave empire is the object of all these proposed compromises. I am against it."

Principally as a result of his stand, the Republicans in Congress opposed the Crittenden compromise, and the plans of compromise failed. Secession spread. Men said, Let the erring sisters go in peace. They would do anything to avoid war. But the man of peace and sorrows was as immovable as ever. He called for 75,000 troops to preserve the Union, and he never flinched at the awful price we paid. In his second inaugural he declared, with sad inflexibility, that if God willed it that the war go on till every drop drawn by the lash should be paid by one drawn by the sword, we could only declare that the judgments of the Lord were righteous altogether.

In the midst of that Homeric contest men declared that the war was a failure. It must be stopped. But the final opinion of the true heart and conscience of the North was that of John Bright, the great English Liberal, peace lover, and democrat, who wrote to Charles Sumner: "I want no end of the war and no compromise and no reunion till the Negro is made free beyond all chance of failure."

But in the light of the modern thought quoted in my first paragraph, how completely must we change our opinions! Lincoln is no longer a prophetic statesman. He is a murderer. The men who died at the Bloody Angle; who fell under Thomas at Chickamauga, but falling saved the Union army from destruction; who charged forward in the pouring death of Cold Harbor, were at the best poor deluded lads, hypnotized by the mere slogan of love of country, and misled by scheming politicians and diplomats. The heroes of the war, the truly clear-headed, advanced thinkers of the North, were the bounty jumpers, the draft rioters, of New York. They realized that war was wicked, and resisted its folly. It is evident that the people of Indiana should remember with gratitude, not Oliver P. Morton and Winslow, Lanier & Co., the great patriotic bankers of New York who, when the Copperheads of the Indiana Legislature refused to vote money for supplying Indiana's quota of volunteers, advanced it themselves; but should rather reverence those very Copperheads who realized that war was wicked and refused to vote money for its continuance. Boston must pull down the beautiful bronze of Boston Common in memory of Robert Gould Shaw, who fell and was "buried with his niggers" at Fort Wagner, and erect one instead to Vallandigham. And so I suppose Germany should cease to honor Koerner, Fichte, and Arndt, who stirred it to revolt against Napoleon, and should henceforth pay homage to the princelings who sold out to him and the pedants who said that they were citizens of the world, not of Germany, that love of country was a popular delusion, and who welcomed the devastator to Germany.

For all war is wicked, whether in defense of home and country, if there be such a thing as a country, or ideals of freedom and democracy! We must stop the war now, whether Belgium is left prostrate or not; whether the twentieth-century scourge is scotched forever or not; whether democracy, product of centuries of sacrifice, blood, and tears, is crushed or rescued from peril and oppression to guide on the ranks of men!

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The wise thing to do is the safe thing to do! Why give up peace and comfort, our pleasant firesides, our clubs and dances, our golf and our church-going, for love of freedom and hatred of oppression? We now repudiate the ignoble doctrine, "'Tis man's perdition to be safe when for the truth he ought to die." We change it to read, "Why risk a hair for that mere idea which fanatics call one's country?" You cannot eat it, drink it, feel it, or make money out of it. This is the golden age! These are the heroic days!

THE COUNTRY CHURCH

*The articles by Mr. and Mrs. Bruère on the country church (the fourth of which was printed last week) have called forth a number of letters, of which we select the following as of interest to our readers.—*THE EDITORS.

I

IN "The Church of the Fat Land," by Mr. and Mrs. Bruère, in The Outlook for March 24, the statements are made that the American Baptist Home Mission Society forces money on churches that do not wish it, and requires churches to keep open meeting-houses which they wish to close. It is stated that our Home Mission Society pours out money to "hermetically seal bursting chrysalises" of churches, and that in a single year, 1912, this one Society gave $293,311.32 for this cause. All of which is not so. Our Home Mission Society exercises no sort of authority over these churches. Every Baptist church is absolutely independent of outside control. It can do just as it pleases. All the appropriations made by our Home Mission Society are made in co-operation with the State conventions, and none are ever made without the approval and indorsement of the State conventions. Every church that is aided in any way must be in membership with its State convention. The principle of home rule in the management of church affairs could not be more fully observed than it is among us.

An intimate knowledge of the affairs of the American Baptist Home Mission Society for many years enables me to say that not a dollar has been expended to keep any church in a chrysalis state, much less nearly three hundred thousand dollars in a single year.

There are numerous other points in the article that might well be objected to. On page 697 it is stated, as a sign of how numerous dead churches are in Iowa, that the Legislature has passed a law for the disposal of their meeting-houses. I suppose most of our States have such a law. New York certainly has. If there was only one such abandoned meeting-house, there ought to be some legal provision for its disposal.

I should think that every member of an evangelical church would object to this article as misrepresenting the work of churches which are not strictly "social centers" and yet feel that it is still worth while for people to assemble for the worship of God, and which give faithful religious instruction to the community and are not behind in their ministry to the poor and the distressed. My own observation would tell me that such a church does more for the "social welfare" of its community than one where the church's chief concern is to make roads as "a way of salvation," "to raise fat pigs for the glory of God," to "clean up dirty privies," to turn the house of worship into a dance-hall and the preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ into the director of the dance. Surely the sketches of evangelical preachers given in this article are a burlesque.

A friend of mine, now a resident of the metropolitan district, but who knows Jordan's Grove better than he knows New York, tells me that the sketch of Jordan's Grove is so highly colored as to be altogether untrue. The article is marked all the way through by a false emphasis, so that some features of church life in Iowa two years ago are exaggerated and other features that were just as marked are altogether ignored. The picture is not a true one.

It should be stated in an appendix to this article that the Rev. Richmond A. Smith, who is spoken of so highly, has resigned since the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Bruère, and the so-called country church movement has been abandoned by the State Convention.

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So that apparently "the old-time religion" has a longer life than the social science substitute which this article advocates.

(Rev.) FRANK M. GOODCHILD.
Central Baptist Church,
New York City.

The Rev. Mr. Goodchild is not alone in his objection to our reference to the expenditures of the Baptist Home Mission Society. Of course we had no intention of singling the Baptist Society out as a horrible example; we referred to its expenditures simply as an illustration of a policy which is not confined to the Baptist denomination, and of which the failure of the Iowa State Convention to support and carry through the admirable social and religious survey begun by the Rev. Richmond A. Smith seems to us unhappily characteristic.

The point we were trying to make, and which appears to be confirmed by the first paragraph of Mr. Goodchild's letter, is that church bodies of great influence like the Baptist Home Missionary Society spend large sums of money planlessly and without that careful examination into the living needs and aspirations of particular rural communities which the statesmanlike surveys of the Presbyterian Board have shown to be essential to efficient expenditure.

As for Jordan's Grove, we can only plead that our description does scant justice to what we saw there and to the accounts of Mr. Smith's work given us by his successor and his former parishioners—a group of sturdy, intelligent, and delightful people. And as for our emphasis, we are very sorry indeed that Mr. Goodchild should think it false; it is true that we were more deeply impressed by the living and growing churches than by those that were dying or dead, and this may account for the forward-stressing emphasis to which he objects. We should be very contrite if we believed we had distorted the truth.

MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE.
ROBERT W. BRUÈRE.

II

The article in The Outlook on "The Church of the Fat Land" impressed me deeply as a tribute to the most important factor in the whole country church area; namely, that good strong churches are growing in the country, and that everywhere they are associating the deepest and sincerest piety, usually of a conservative, theological type, with practical economic and social service. This is an aspect of the country church in the Middle States, which you truly call the "fat land." These fertile and spiritual-minded churches are having an immense influence, and the beauty of it is that they have learned their gospel from experience. They have found a way along the steep face of necessity, and country ministers who generally are seeking to find "the path of the country church" are observing their work with great interest.

I think the Outlook article was misunderstood by some, who thought that you denied the spirituality of these churches, but I know the situation so well that I realized the close association of fervent, evangelistic feeling with practical economic and social service. I commend heartily the evidence which you present that the exceptional community-serving church is prosperous in these sections in which the narrow sectarian church, in spite of the wealth that is in the land, is running down. In the older Eastern States we often have a church prosperity that is of tradition alone. In the great Middle West, where the heart of country people is even more actively evangelistic and their religion more simple and Biblical, they have had to fight a hard struggle for the maintenance of all social institutions, and the success of a few churches which have fought their way out has almost always been secured in the practice of the life of Christ along with the preaching of the doctrine of Christ.

The inquiry which the articles have awakened will do great good, for it will extend the knowledge of these pioneer country churches, and it will convince the many pessimists who hold that there is no future for the country church. The country ministers and officers who are securing success in the hard economic struggle of "the fat land" are doing constructive work for all Christendom.

WARREN H. WILSON.
Country Church Work,
Board of Presbyterian Home Missions.

III

I have read with great satisfaction and profit "The Church of the Fat Land," published in The Outlook of March 24. It occurs to me that you might be interested in the new course of study which will be offered for the first time in the College of the Bible of Transylvania next autumn.

While the foremost theological seminaries of the country all recognize the imperative

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need which this new course of study seeks to supply, not one of them is yet ready to smash precedents and to try the experiment.

Such is the position of Union, McCormick, Yale, Princeton, Garrett, etc.

Professor Alva W. Taylor, of Missouri Bible College, states the case admirably in Bulletin I of the Commission of Social Service and the Rural Church of the Disciples of Christ. He says: "The ultimate hope of the rural church, as of every church, and of the school, and of every other public institution, is in an educated leadership. . . . The first requisite lies in the seminary and college that trains the ministry. The pastor needs a knowledge of his field as well as of the things he is to preach. . . . If we are to have an educated rural ministry, we must have an education for the rural ministry; that means a curriculum that gives the knowledge of sociology and of rural life as well as of theology and sermonizing."

Now, the College of the Bible of Transylania University is undertaking to offer a course of study for the preparation of ministerial students who will give their life to the upbuilding of the country-side. This course requires the four-year high school preparation, and one year of college work as a prerequisite. This college year includes such subjects as English, science, foreign language, a survey course of the Old and New Testament, and an elementary course in psychology.

From this point of departure a student is supposed to be capable of determining just where he should expend his energies when he enters his work. If he wants to pursue a social service ministry, a missionary ministry, a teaching ministry or a preaching ministry in the open country, he elects subjects in the particular field of his life task.

In this course we are going to teach botany, with especial reference to agriculture, horticulture, etc. We will also give a course in zoölogy covering animal husbandry, which will acquaint one with the various forms of animal and insect life found on the farm. We will give a course in sociology, with special reference to country conditions. Rural sanitation and hygiene will be offered.

About one-half of the four years required to complete this course will be in strictly theological subjects, and the other half will be in subjects looking toward making the rural preacher thoroughly comfortable, informed, and useful in his environment.

I thought you would be interested in what we are planning to do with respect to improving the conditions of rural ministers, and have consequently set out somewhat *in extenso* our programme.

R. H. CROSSFIELD,
President Trannsylvania University.
Lexington, Kentucky.

IV

I have just finished reading the second article on the country church, entitled "The Church of the Lean Land," by the Bruères. I read also "The Church of the Fat Land."

The Bruères have a power of practical visualizing that makes their writings of unlimited value to society. They see things as they are; they have vision; they are able to so correlate the two that we have something tangible. They are indeed constructive socialists in the best sense. Their articles are fascinating, exhilarating; they hit the nail on the head; they are practical, earnest, sincere, helpful, stimulating.

HENRY FLURY.
Pleasant Hill Academy,
Pleasant Hill, Tennessee.

THE SPECTATOR EN ROUTE TO LEMBERG

IT has doubtless been observed by many that the Spectator is a person of ubiquitous characteristics. Without arguing how this may be or attempting to describe the appearance of the particular pattern of the magic carpet which he uses, let it be stated immediately that he was most fortunate in being one of the first among Americans to go over the Uzsok Pass by railway—or perhaps by any other means of transportation.

If you, my reader, have got out your atlas in order to locate this pass, probably you have had difficulty in finding it, or, having found it, in discovering that a railway line ran through it. The pass, prior to the war, was not the most important one in the Carpathians. Indeed, it was only a few years ago that the whistle of a locomotive echoed in it, assuming that the whistle was powerful enough to create an echo, which

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is doubtful. Only the very latest maps indicate the presence of a railway. Perhaps war has obliterated it.

It was by accident that the Spectator learned of its existence. He had been staying for a few days in Debreczen in order to see the *czardas*, the national peasant dance of the Magyars. Having failed in this, he began studying the time-table. The Spectator has a good word to say for the Hungarian State Railway time-table. A map of the railway system goes with the time-table. Each section of the system is numbered. The time-tables are numbered to correspond with the numbers on the map, or *vice versa*. Thus has the pictorial method been brought into service as an aid to the traveler.

The Spectator studied the map on the hotel wall, and, noting that there were two routes to Lemberg, glanced at the corresponding time-table. He was surprised to learn that, although the route by way of Munkacs and Stryi was that taken by the expresses, the local trains going by way of Csap, Ungvar, Uzsok, and Sambor, stopping at every bar post, apparently would reach Lemberg earlier. So he elected the valley of the Ung and Uzsok, and ordered a carriage for the 5:15 A.M. train.

In selecting the time for leaving the hotel a half-hour had been allowed for breakfast, but the time was otherwise spent by Mr. Spectator. Having said "Lemberg" to the woman in the ticket-office, he thought to receive a through ticket, as he would have done in America or on a through line. Not so. The young woman passed out a slip of green cardboard on which appeared neither the name "Lemberg" nor of any other place learned of previously by the Spectator. It did not take long to discover that a woman ticket agent of the Hungarian State Railway could not be expected to know any other than the Magyar tongue. The Spectator studied the illustrated time-table again. He tried German on the porters and all other persons who looked as if they could aid. At last a uniformed official who understood German entered. He said in substance: "Come with me. My train goes part way. I will tell you where to change cars."

The Spectator was led forth like a lamb. "I do not know where I am coming out," said he to himself, feeling as helpless as an immigrant on Ellis Island, "but, in any event, it will be an adventure."

One cannot fail to have an interesting day who starts out in such a spirit. Breakfast and luncheon were combined, and consisted of rolls, canned sardines, lemon juice, and bottled sulphur water picked up at various stations. In Hungary one comes to believe that all mineral water is charged with sulphur. The Spectator made it a practice in Europe to drink mineral water, but at Debreczen he gave it up. Sulphur was no more to his taste than chickens served with their heads still attached. This also was a Debreczen delicacy.

The Spectator has been asked how wide and how high the Carpathians are. So far as his experience goes, with the exception of the western region called the High Tatra, where they are precipitous and rise to a height of upwards of nine thousand feet, their slopes are comparatively gentle. The Hungarian plain is more than seven hundred feet lower than the floor of eastern Galicia in the neighborhood of Sambor and Lemberg. The total climb from Csap, on the southern base of the mountains, to Sianki, the summit of the pass, a distance of seventy-seven and one-half miles, is approximately fifteen hundred feet, or an average of less than twenty feet to the mile. The descent on the northern side by way of the valley of the Dniester to Sambor, at the foot of the slope, sixty-four miles away, is 830 feet, a fall of thirteen feet to the mile. The Hungarian plain lies about three hundred and fifty feet above sea-level. The elevation of the summit of the pass is 1,845 feet, while the Galician country averages about one thousand feet. To the fact that this sector of the Carpathian rampart is lower than other regions is credited the presence of Ruthenians at this point on the southern slopes, while those farther westward are inhabited by Slovaks. Perhaps this is one reason for the extreme persistence of the attack by the Russians in the neighborhood of this pass. At some period in the past the Ruthenians swarmed over the divide and settled here.

The Spectator gained on his journey over the pass a keener realization of the similarity of human nature the world over. It will be a long time before he forgets the two little maids who, with their father, occupied the compartment with him. They were on their

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way to visit grandmother in the foothills of the Carpathians. Although they could not speak a tongue the Spectator understood, they could play games that all children know. So the Spectator, far from home and a little heart-hungry, got acquainted with them by means of the universal language of games, and could enjoy the thrill of expectation with which they looked forward to being at grandmother's and meeting again the dog they had known in other days. That there was a dog was learned from the father interpreting for his *kinder*. It all reminded the Spectator of his youthful visits to his grandparents in the foothills of the Berkshires in Litchfield County. The good father helped him in solving the intricacies of his railway journey as the train ambled slowly up into the hill country beyond Csap, and by and by the three left it. The children were quite delighted at meeting a great black dog. As the train pulled out of the station they and their father waved their hands to the Spectator, and all exchanged bows, accompanied by the polite hat-lifting which is so pleasing a custom in Continental Europe.

The scenery became wilder as the train approached the summit and the channel of the Ung River narrowed. The people changed in character. The villages were of straw-thatched cottages. The roofs were steep and moldy and moss-covered, and the sides were slabs. The women wore strong colors, red and rich blue predominating. There were no shrines in the neighborhood of Protestant Debreczen, but now they were to be seen again—simple metal crosses on stone pedestals.

The roadbed became steeper as the train approached the crest of the divide. In the course of the last few miles it climbed an elevation of several hundred feet by circling along the sides of two or three valleys, cutting through several hills by means of tunnels—there were at least half a dozen—and crossing several ravines upon viaducts of fine design. The train moved so slowly that the Spectator could have jumped out and climbed aboard again in safety. He leaned out of the window and, pointing his camera down the ravine which the train had just crossed and along whose sides it was crawling, pressed the button. The smoke of the locomotive was flowing out of the mouth of the tunnel through which the train had just passed. For twenty minutes the locomotive, with its burden trailing behind it, snorted heavily as it zigzagged around the convolutions of the encircling hills at the proverbial—and literal—pace of a snail. Through all this period of time the pillar of smoke issuing from the tunnel could be seen by the Spectator. The train stopped at Uzsok and then at Sianki.

As a specimen of railway engineering the accomplishment of getting a train to the summit of the Uzsok Pass, in the Spectator's experience, ranked next to that exhibited in the Semmering Pass over which the Trieste-Vienna expresses travel. The scenery, however, was not so bold. There were no snow-capped peaks to be seen, no mountains rising above the timber line. The very summits were wooded and inhabited. There were mountains not so many miles distant which rose to an elevation of four thousand feet.

At Sianki the Spectator changed cars again, this being the third or fourth time. Now it was to a train of the Austrian Staatsbahn, for Sianki is on the boundary line between Hungary and Galicia. The route to Sambor was more gentle in its incline than that traversed in the morning. The train followed the valley of the Dniester through pine woods in which much lumbering was being done. Everywhere Ruthenian wood-choppers—yokels with blank expression, and wearing jackets trimmed with red—and Jews with ringlets hanging over their temples were seen. From time to time churches with triple domes resembling Hindu pagodas were passed, crosses surmounting and distinguishing them. The women were prominent and picturesque features of the landscape, their red head-bands, red skirts, and red aprons making them conspicuous at a great distance.

In the edge of the evening the train rolled into Sambor, and, being obliged to change cars again, the Spectator took advantage of the opportunity to indulge in the first complete meal of the day. Then on into the night he sped toward Lemberg, 48½ miles away. The train arrived there an hour behind the schedule. Although in consequence of this no time had been saved over the other route, the Spectator had no regrets for the fact that he had ventured across lots, and as a result unwittingly passed through a country which was to become historic.

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THE NEW BOOKS

Il Mare Adriatico. By Gellio Cassi. Ulrico Hoepli. Milano, Italy.

This volume is published at exactly the right time. Never before has there been so much interest in the Adriatic, and never before has popular attention turned so much towards the history of the shores of that sea. Professor Cassi has known how to relate this history to us in language so interesting that we hope an early translation of the book will make it possible for English-speaking readers to enjoy it as well.

What Ought I To Do? By George Trumbull Ladd, LL.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.50.

Professor Ladd, of Yale, though now emeritus, continues his educational work with vigor and practical point. The very title of this volume pointedly addresses it to a widely felt need in the present crisis of civilization, in the birth pangs of a new social order, and perplexing questions of personal and social duty.

The two outstanding facts of history are these: the time-long evolution of morality in society, and this as proceeding from the development of the moral self in individual personality. Professor Ladd thus summarizes the entire course of ethical study: "The moral self in a process of development toward the social ideal." Only in society can personality originate and develop. Professor Ladd's conception of individual personality in progressive development is well expressed in Whittier's well-known line:

"Be thou the true man thou dost seek."

To be one such good man and true, "one great thing, perhaps the greatest of all, is that you should be devotedly helpful to others in their efforts to realize their own individual better selves. But be good to others in your own good way after your conception of the divine type."

The story of Adam and Eve in the so-called "fall" of man is the prototype of the initial forward step in the development of the moral self which multitudes even now have yet to take—advance from tribal or group morality to individual morality. Professor Ladd's chapters on "Custom, Other Laws, and the Moral Law" and "On Settling Questions of Conscience" have admirably handled the puzzling problems which often embarrass that momentous step.

Trees and Shrubs Hardy in the British Isles. By W. J. Bean. 2 vols. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $15 per set.

These two stout volumes are, of course, more interesting to Britons than to Americans. And yet to us also they have interest, especially because of those trees and shrubs in America which exist in England as well. It is interesting to note with regard to them the propagation, nursery work, transplanting, mulching, pruning, and other care given in the British Isles and compare it with our own. These volumes may be regarded, we suppose, as constituting a standard work on the subject. Moreover, any one who has ever visited the fascinating Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, London, may take a special interest in the work, knowing that the author is the assistant curator of those gardens.

Abroad at Home. By Julian Street. The Century Company, New York. $2.50.

At a time when Americans must perforce set out to discover the attractions of their own country, in lieu of the "trip abroad" which is not to be thought of this year, this vivacious account of things seen in a trip from New York to San Francisco by a wide-awake newspaper man and an open-eyed artist will be helpful and suggestive to a host of vacationists who are asking, "Where?"

Christ of the Men of Art (The). By J. R. Aitken. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $6.

This book is concerned chiefly with the best works of the most distinguished painters, and hence is not as exhaustive as it might have been. Had the book been more comprehensive, however, it would have been necessary to publish it in two volumes. The present volume is a thick book, but is well printed and passably well illustrated.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the volume lies in its account of the Christ figure as depicted in the early centuries of the Christian era, in the Byzantine Age, and in what the author calls "the Dawn of the Italian Renaissance"—another name for the Gothic Age. Prefatory to all this is a chapter in which various legendary tales are told and descriptions given of what has been found in the sacramental vessels and numerous ornaments discovered in the Catacombs.

The least satisfactory part of this description of the earlier art ages is that which has to do with Gothic art, simply because it lacks the amplitude which its author was doubtless ready to give, but which had to be condensed into what seemed a proper perspective with the rest of the book.

Italy for the Reconstruction of Poland. Referendum prepared by the review "L'Eloquenza." Published by "L'Eloquenza," Rome, Italy.

The subject of the rehabilitation of the Polish Kingdom is one which was mentioned in Germany by Germans at the beginning of the war as a possible and even probable benefit from the war. It is interesting also to find that in Italy a similar opinion has been held. "L'Eloquenza," the Italian review, has made a summary of opinions on that subject, and the resulting volume is worth the attention of any one interested in Poland. In addition, there is an interesting map closing the volume tracing what the Italians would doubtless call "Polonia Irredenta" (unredeemed Poland).

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BY THE WAY

Metal markets, says a commercial authority, are running wild. The copper output for May surpassed all records by over 25,000,000 pounds, yet the price has risen from 12¾c. in January to 20½c. Zinc began the year at 5c. a pound and reached 29½c. The manufacturers of brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, tried to substitute lead for the zinc, and the price of lead rose from 4.20c. to 7.50c. a pound—"a figure which it has not touched since the Civil War!"

Joplin, Missouri, the center of the American zinc-producing field, has been having a boom as a result of the increased price of zinc—or "spelter," as it is called commercially. "A year ago many of the mines were abandoned. Now every one is worked to capacity. The small mines where the small fry hoist the ore out with a horse, break the rock with a sledge, and wash it by hand bring profits of $250 a week."

"Read the advertisements," is the advice to its readers given by a monthly journal devoted to office equipment. It frankly says that it regards its advertisements as its most valuable feature. And at least one daily paper in New York City might say the same thing. "Of course one buys the —— for the advertisements," is a remark often heard concerning this daily; and an odd thing about it is that the paper in question sells for a higher price than do most of its competitors that are without this valuable advertising patronage.

A trip by trolley car from New York City to Chicago costs, according to the Brooklyn "Eagle's" Trolley Exploring Guide, slightly over $20 in fares and about $12 extra for hotel bills, as the trip takes just short of four days. There are still one or two gaps in New York State which must be filled in with steam-car travel, but from Little Falls, New York, one can travel by trolley not only as far as Chicago, but to Sheboygan, Wisconsin, to Bay City, Michigan, to Louisville, Kentucky, and almost to St. Louis.

"With an aim to foster and develop an artistic theater, free from the taint of commercialism, the Washington Square Players began a season in February at the Bandbox Theater," says the New York "Dramatic Mirror." It adds: "Their success has been so complete that it has dispelled for all time the belief of the skeptics that there was no room for a theater of ideals in this country." The Bandbox Theater does not advertise in the papers, its tickets are not sold at an advance by agencies, and the best seats have sold for only fifty cents, though they are to be a dollar next season.

Figures published by the Department of Labor indicate that the cost of living in 1914 was 2 per cent greater than in 1913, and 24.5 per cent more than in 1907. Taking prices in 1913 as a standard and calling them 100, sirloin steak jumped from 71.5 in 1907 to 102.5 in 1914; hens from 81.4 to 102.1; eggs from 84.1 to 102.3; wheat flour from 94.9 to 103.8; corn meal from 87.7 to 105.2; butter from 85.2 to 94.4; milk from 87.2 to 100.5. Potatoes are one of the few articles of universal consumption which have risen only slightly—from 101.3 to 103.2.

Broadway, New York City, is to have an open-air restaurant similar to the delightful sidewalk restaurants of Paris, at which the boulevardiers love to sit and watch the passing throng while they sip their cooling drinks and exchange the gossip of the hour—at least they did this before the war and will doubtless resume the practice when the war is over. New York's sidewalk café is to be inclosed in glass in winter.

Here is a Chinese student's summary of the war's causes, as published in a Shanghai paper: "Now there is a great battle in Europe. This began because the Prince of Austria went to Serbia with his wife. One man of Serbia killed him. Austria was angry, and so write Serbia. Germany write a letter to Austria, 'I will help you.' Russia write a letter to Serbia, 'I will help you.' France did not want to fight, but they got ready their soldiers. Germany write a letter to France, 'You don't get ready, or I will fight you in nine hours.' Germany, to fight them, pass Belgium. Belgium say, 'I am a Country; I am NOT a road.' And Belgium write a letter to England about Germany, to help them. So England help Belgium." Who can do better in the same space?

One of Bolivia's misfortunes has been its deprivation of an outlet to the Pacific; but it is interesting to note the just published report of two commissioners from one of the largest corporations in the United States, which is seeking to enlarge its trade in Latin America. They found, they announce, Bolivia "in a more prosperous condition than any other South American country at the time of their visit."

An exchange prints this list of words ending in *ough*, the pronunciation of the more obscure words being here added, so far as is ascertainable from the dictionaries: Messrs. Gough (*gof*), Hough (*huf*), and Clough (*cluf*), though tough enough, thought, through the day, that they would visit Mr. Brough (*broo*), who, having hiccough (*hickup*) and a cough, lived in a clough (*cluf* or *clou*), with plenty of dough and a tame chough (*chuf*) kept near a plough in a rough trough hung to a bough over a lough (*loch*). A slough (*sluf*) of the bank into the slough (*slew*) injured his thoroughbred's hough (*hock*).

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